



KANGURA

N° 42

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO
KURENGERA RUBANDA
NYAMWINSHI.

100 FRW

MAI-1993

BURUNDI:— Iminsi y'igisambo ntirenga mirongo ine.
— Gutora BUYOYA ni ukwigerekaho umusaraba.
— BUYOYA aritegura gushoza imvururu aramutse atsinzwe.

DEMOKARASI
BUYOYA NYUMA Y'AMATORA
YAHISEMO KWIYAHURA
NGO ATAZABAZWA
UKO YISHE
ABAHUTU.

ZAIRE :
Ni iki cyatumye abatutsi
bicwa urubozo i Masisi ?

Urupfu rwa GAPIYISI rurahama
inyenzi ziyobowe na TWAGIRA-
MUNGU. Abahutu turangwe
n'umutima wo guhora.

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abaturage ba zamutsinda
mu muhanda natimurwa,

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Le contenu des articles engage
l'Auteur et l'Editeur

Abonnement annuel : Rwanda : 5.000 FRW
Afrique : 12.000 FRW
Europe - Amérique - Asie : 25.000 FRW
Sur cpte BCR - 14273/14 KIGALI

Tiré sur les presses
de l'Imprimerie Nationale du Rwanda

BURUNDI: AMATORA: Iminsi y'igisambo ntirenga mirongo ine.



Inkubi y'umuyaga wa demokrasi yatangiye mu bihugu by'i Burayi bw'iburasirazuba igasakara muri Afurika, imaze guhitana ingoma nyinshi z'ibitugu. Mu Burayi bw'iburasirazuba aho yatangiye, yahitanye ubutegetsi bwa ba Nikolai Ceausescu wo muri Rumaniya wari warakandamije abaturage be imyaka n'imyaka. Iyo nkubi igera no muri Polonye ihitana General Jaruseski wari warabujije abaturage b'icyo gihugu kuvuga icyo batekereza. Iyo nkubi y'umuyaga wa demokrasi ntiyatinze gusakara muri Afurika. Ba Moussa Traoré (Mali), Matayo Kerekou (Benin), Sassou Nguesso (Congo), ibageraho. Bamwe muri abo bakuru b'ibihugu bashoboye kubyitwaramo neza, bigendera mu mahoro batanduranyije. Mu karere kacya k'Afurika yo hagati, akarere k'ibiyaga bigari, naho iyo nkubi yarahageze, mu Rwanda, muri Zaïre, mu Burundi ndetse no muri Uganda. Usesenguye neza usanga mu Rwanda no muri Zaïre barabyitwayemo neza barareka abaturage barinigura. Abandi iyo nkubi y'umuyaga wa demokrasi yarabatanguye, ibakura umutima. Impamvu y'icyo kidodo nta yindi ni uko ba nyiri ubwite bazi neza ko bicaye ku ntebe bihaye, abandi bavugaga ko «bitije».

Mbese "bishize ko bazivana ko". Wa mugani w'umurundi. Bibagiwe ko ubutegetsi butangwa n'abaturage bugakorera abaturage. Muri Uganda ho ni akumiro. Museveni aherutse gutanga itegeko ko umuntu uzatinyuka kujya mu muhanda kwigaragambya azababwirakuraho kuraswa agapfa! Mugenzi we Buyoya yamurushije "ubupfura", aniga amashyamba ya rubanda, ategura amatara ya huti huti. Ayo matora ate-

ganijwe kuba ejo bundi tariki ya 1/6/1993. Icyo Buyoya agamije ni ugupfukirana abarundi akabiba ubutegetsi nk'uko "yamye abigenza" tariki ya 3/9/1987. Kimwe na bakuru be bamubanjirije, uvuye ku bami, Micombero kugeza kuri Bagaza.

Abanyarwanda niba bajya bavugaga ko iminsi y'igisambo itarenga mirongo ine. Igisambo kiriba, cyageraho kigafatwa. Na Buyoya nawe ni uko. Yaribye, arika, ariko umunsi we wanyuma ni umwe. Ni tariki ya 1/6/1993, umunsi we ntarengwa. N'ubwo uwo mugabo yakoresheje amayeri yose akigizayo ishyamba PALIPEHUTU rivugira imbaga y'abahutu b'i Burundi, abarundi ntibasinziriyeho. Abarundi benshi, ni ukuvuga abahinzi bagize 90 ku ijana by'abarundi bose ubu bibumbiye mu ishyamba ryabo FRODEBU. Tukabwira twazera ko ejo bundi tariki yamubereye Kamena 1993 bazahungaga amajwi ku mukuru wabo, umuhutu mwene wabo, Melchior NDADAYE, twifurije gutsinda. Abahutu b'i Burundi, igihe kirageze ngo nabo bakore revolisiyo yabo, bipakurure ubuhake n'agasuzuguro by'abatutsi.

Impamvu abahutu b'i Burundi bagomba gutora umuhutu mwene wabo zirumvikana. Ari abarundi ubwabo cyangwa se mu mahanga, bazi neza ukuntu ishyamba UPRONA ry'abatutsi ryishe abahutu n'abatwa barenze ibihumbi magana ane (400.000), abandi ibihumbi magana atatu (300.000) bagahungaga. Kandi abahutu bagize hafi 90 ku ijana by'abarundi bose akaba ari nabo batumye UPRONA itsinda tariki ya 18/9/1961. Abahutu b'i Burundi, ntimugashukwe n'akarimi k'inzoka ka Buyoya. Mu w'1961, Rwagasore nawe niko yabigenje. Icyo gihe imigambi ya UPRONA yari myiza mu mpapuro no mu magambo. Abahutu batumye Rwagasore na Uprona batsinda, bose abatutsi barabivuganyeho. Twavugaga nka Paulo MIREREKANO, Petero NGE-NDANDUMWE, BAKINA Yozefu n'abandi. Iryo totezwa kandi riracyakomeza. Ni nde wishe Remy GAHUTU, Perezida wa PALIPEHUTU? Ni nde uhejeje muri gereza NTIRAMPA Antoine, sekreteri wa mbere wa PALIPEHUTU, NZEYIMANA Ernest? Si

Buyoya?

Abahutu b'i Burundi, muramutwe mutoye uwo mwicanyi yakomeza kubakandamiza. Dore ko kuva yagera kubutegetsi mu w'1987 abahutu amaze kwirakaza batagira ingano. Ibimenyeshyeho byamye ubwicanyi bwa Buyoya byinshi. Dore bimwe muri byo: Kuva mu w'1961 kugeza mu w'1987 Uprona n'abatutsi bagumye kwirakaza abahutu bari mu butegetsi, bitwaje coup d'Etat.

Mu w'1965 Uprona n'abatutsi bashyamba abahutu n'abatwa benshi mu ntara zose ya BURUNDI no mu zindi ntara zose ya Burundi. Icyo gihe hafuye abarenga 10.000.

Mu w'1969, Uprona n'abatutsi bashyamba abahutu batari bake bari mu butegetsi no mu gisirikari.

Mu w'1972-1973, Uprona n'abatutsi batikije abahutu bo mu ntara zose. Hafuye abarenze 300.000, abageze ku bihumbi 200.000 barahungaga.

Mu w'1987, Uprona n'abatutsi bashyamba abahutu n'abatwa barenga ngeye gufunga abahutu n'abatwa abandi baricwa.

Mu w'1988, muri Ntega na Maranga hafuye abahutu n'abatwa barenga 60.000 abandi baracyari mu buhungiro.

Mu w'1991, hafuye abahutu n'abatwa barenga 20.000.

Mu w'1992-1993, abahutu n'abatwa benshi baracyahigwa bukwere, bagafatwa, bakicwa. Muri gereza y'i Burundi huzuyemo abahutu.

Abahutu b'i Burundi ntibari bashyamba kwiye kongera kuba ibicucu nko mu mwaka w'1961, igihe batoraga Uprona none bakaba babona aho ibageze. Bamenye kandi ko Uprona n'abatutsi bafite amayeri menshi bazibisha amajwi, ndetse n'igitugu bakoresheje abahutu sirikari babo b'abatutsi. Hari amakuru atugeraho yemeza ko Uprona na Buyoya biteguye guteza intambara mu Burundi kugira ngo baburizemo amatara. Ibyo kandi bakazabyomemeza kumashyamba y'abahutu ariko cyane cyane na PALIPEHUTU.

NGEZE Hassa

TANZANIA-ZAYIRE-BURUNDI: UMUGAMBI NI UMWE: GUTSEMBA IMPUNZI Z'ABAHUTU

Ibinjana bitanubigiye kurangira Abahutu n'Abatwa b'i Burundi bakadnamizwa ndetse bakanicwa n'intwaro za gitutsi nta kindi zishaka atari uguhonya Abahutu n'Abatwa.

Intwaro zose zaba iza cami canke iz'igisoda, zaranzwe n'ugusesa amaraso y'Abahutu n'Abatwa n'ukubangaza cane cane kuwa mu w'1962, ariko muri iyo bihe vyose ntibabuze ko ziririmba amahoro n'ubumwe. Ikibabaje rero kandi gitangaje ni uko ako karimi kagisamara mbere kakasinziriza Abarundi n'Ama-kungu.

Muri ibi bihe turimwo, impararo kw'isi yose ni umuzo wa demokarasi eka no mu Burundi nirwo ruririmbo. Ariko ntibibuze Leta y'u Burundi kubandanya kwica Abahutu n'Abatwa, ikitavuzwe coco ni ugutoteza abacitse kw'icumu iyo bahungiyeyi, ivyo Leta y'u Burundi ikabifashwamo na bamwe bamwe mu bategetsi b'inda ndende (ba mpahire inda) cane cane abo muri Tanzaniya na Zayire.

Iyo navyo nibitanguye uno munsu:

- Mu 1973: MICOMBERO yateye amabombe mu makambi y'impunzi z'Abahutu yo mu Ntara ya Kigoma muri Tanzaniya.

- Mu 1976: BAGAZA yaraye afashe ubutegetsi asaba impunzi guhunguka. Barahungutse, bamwe bashikira mu muryororo, abandi basubira guhunga cane cane mu 1979 no mu 1984.

- Mu 1986: BAGAZA afatanijye n'abategetsi ba Tanzaniya, bahunguye ku nguvu Abahutu ibihumbi bo mu makambi y'impunzi ya Gitanga, Katundu, Murorore na Kigoma.

Izo ngorwa z'abahutu zafatwa nk'Abamenja zipakirwa mu makamy, zitabwa ku mupaka w'u Burundi aho zafatirwe nk'ibikoko bigiye kubagwa.

- Mu 1988: nyuma y'ivyago vyiswe "Mega-Marangara", isinzi y'abahutu bari bahungiyeyi i Muhoro mu Rwanda barahungutse kuko ubuzima butari buhorohoreye. Ntibamaze kabiri badasubiye guhunga, tutibagiye ko bamwe muri bo baciwe amaguru na Leta ya Uprona.

- Kuwa mu 1989 Leta ya BUYOYA n'abategetsi ba Tanzaniya bagiye inama yo kwima ubuhungiro Abahutu n'Abatwa (umubonano wa Lieutenant-Colonel

Jean Claude Ndiyo na Général de Brigade Muhidin Kimario be na Salim Ahmed Salim i Dodoma muri Tanzaniya muri Ndamukiza 1989). Ni nako Leta ntutsi yatanguriye gutanga ingero zo guhungura Abahutu ku gitsure n'inguvu.

Nko mu 191, Leta y'u Burundi n'ya Tanzaniya zumvikanyeye ko Leta ya Tanzaniya ihungura ku nguvu Abahutu (cane cane urwaruka) ibihumbi cumi na bitandatu (16.000), u Burundi nabwo bukirukana Abatanzaniya igihumbi n'amajana atanu (1500) baba mu Burundi binyuranyeye n'amategeko (irréguliers). Izo Leta zari zumvikanyeye kandi ko amashilingi yo muri Tanzaniya n'amafaranga yo mu Burundi yakoresheye muri ivyo bihugu vyompi atarinze kuvunjishwa.

Muri Ntwarante 1992 (ukwezi kwa 3), umushikiranganzi w'intwari yo hagati n'iterambere ry'amakomini BARARUNYERETSE Libère (ubu akaba ashinzwe imigenderanire) yahitanye mugenzi we wa Tanzaniya Augustine Lyantonga Mrema, baja guturubika impunzi z'abahutu mu makambi y'i Ulyankuru, Katumba, Mishamo na Kigoma ngo vyanze bikunde zibwirizwa guhunguka mu kiringo cy'amazi atatu.

Kuwa icyi gihe, Leta ya Tanzaniya yabashiriyeho amananiza kugira ngo ibagondoze bemere guhunguka: ikori ry'umutwe ku mpunzi (!) ryavuye ku majana ane risimbira ku gihumbi n'amajana atanu, intererana z'umurenge Leta isaba impunzi kugira ngo itsimbataze intwari ya CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi)...

Izindi mpunzi z'abahutu zigeramiye n'ibiturire n'ingero vya Uprona, ni iziri mu Ntara ya Sud-Kivu muri Zaïre. Kuwa mu w'1986, Leta y'u Burundi yakomeje gushaka kwiba impunzi ngo izisubize mu Burundi ku nguvu, cane cane guhera mu w'1991, ubu hoho bikaba vyarenze urugero:

- Kuwa 8/5/1992, Lieutenant Ekhouchou wo mu ikambi y'Abakomando y'i Luberizi, aherekewe n'umu Ofisiye w'umurundi (umututsi), abakomando barenga icenda n'umukuru wa AND (mbangamatwi: maneko) wo mu w'i Sa-

nge, baleyeye (kuyogera) amakambi y'impunzi ya Kibogoye, Sange, Ntunda, Biliba, Luvungi n'ahandi, bamijira amasase mu mpunzi, banafatamwo bamwe babajana ahantu hatamenyekana. Muri abo bajyanywe busuma harimwo BURIMBO na MBONIMPA Frédéric bo mu Kibogoye, Pasteur MINANI wo mu Biliba, Pasteur wo ku Ntunda...

- Kuwa 9/5/1993 igitero carabandaniye.

Ntitwokwirengagiza n'ukuntu Leta y'u Burundi yiyandagaza ku Rwanda icisha ibinyoma bidafatika ku iradiyo no mu nyandiko vy'umushikiranganzi w'imigenderanire.

Twihweje tukazirikana ku vyavuzwe hejuru, turashobora kwibaza icyo ari cyo demokarasi mu Burundi kugira ngo dushobore gutahura uko ikibazo c'u Burundi cifashe. "Demokarasi ndundi" (Démocratie à la burundaise!) yaramyeho n'ubu iriho, isigura akarimi gasosa k'ubutegetsi bw'abatutsi bakandamiza ubwoko bw'Abahutu n'Abatwa.

Kugira ngo ako karimi karonke in-tebe mu mahanga, Leta ntutsi nta nzira zitacyiyemo: kwankira abahutu n'abatwa kwiga no kuburizamo abize, kugura abanyamakuru n'abagize amaleta amwe n'amwe, gukoresha abacangero no gukomeza igisirikari c'ubwoko bumwe buri ku rusi rw'abatutsi...

Ni muri ubwo buryo rero kandi ni naco gituma Leta ya Tanzaniya yita ku biti n'amabuye mu gutoteza impunzi z'abahutu ihayo indaro. Ariko rero icyo nyifato si icy'uno munsu: ikomoka ku masezerano ya TANU (Tanganyika African National Union, umugambwe wa Julius Kambarage Nyerere), UPRONA (Union pour le Progrès National, umugambwe wa Rwagasore) na UNAR (Union Nationale Rwandaise, umugambwe wa Rwagasana) mu gihe baharanira kwiganzura umukoloni.

Muri icyo masezerano, abo bayobozi bumvikanyeye ko:

1° ata kurekurira canke ngo bihanganire ko Abahutu bo mu Rwanda no mu Burundi baja k'ubutegetsi ngo kuko bica biganzira Afrika yo hagati n'ubuseruko kubera ubwira n'umwete bagaragaza mu

bikorwa.

2° Bamaze kwiganzura umukoloni, Tanzaniya, U Rwanda n'U Burundi bica bigira ishirahamwe ry'ubutunzi n'ugufashanywa.

Mugabo rero amasezerano ntiyagenze uko bari bavyiyumviriye ndetse bakabijana n'inama kuko revolisiyo nyarwanda yo mu 1959 yononye umukino. Aho ibintu bigeze rero muri kino gihe, uwo mukino bariko baragerageza kuwunagura muri ibi bikurikira:

a) ibiganiro ry'i Arusha bihagarariwe n'intumwaza Julius Kambarage Nyerere zihurikiye muri C.C.M.

b) "Demokarasi ndundi" y'ihutihuti,
c) Igarukanwa ry'ubwami muri Uganda (Kigezi, Ankole, Bunyoro...)

None ni kuki Nyerere yivanze mu kibazo c'ubutegetsi n'imibano mu Burundi no mu Rwanda? Julius Kambarage Nyerere ni uwo mu bwoko bw'"abazanaki" (wazanaki: wazanye iki? Ica nke uzanye iki?) bukomoka mu Burundi kandi bwa gitutsi. "Abazanaki" bomowe n'umwami kuko bari bakaruhariwe mu kwiba inka (Tubibutse ko ata muhutu yiba inka kuko yari yitungiywe n'isuka).

Bamaze kwomorwa, bagiye muri Tanzaniya, bashitse mu Buha, abaha

nabo barabirukanye kubera izo ngeso, baja mu Bunyamwenzi (i Tabora) no mu Busukuma (Shinyanga) naho nyene barabirukana bica baja i Kilimandjaro aho baba ubu. Aho mu Bunyamwenzi no mu Busukuma niko bavanye izina ry'"abazanaki", ubu bakaba bashika ibihumbi amajana abiri (200.000).

Birumvakanwa rero igituma TANU yifataniye na Afro Shiraz bikaba CCM yafashe mu mugongo kandi n'ubu igifasha UPRONA mu mugambi wo kugandagura Abahutu mu Burundi.

Tugarutse kuri "Demokrasi ndundi" (Démocratie à la Burundaise) ya UPRONA y'Abatutsi: iyo demokarasi ishingiye k'umugambi w'Abatutsi wo, kwigundirako ubutegetsi n'ubutunzi bw'u Burundi, gutyo biborohere gusesa amaraso y'abahutu n'abatwa, kubangaza no kubamarira iyo basanzariye.

Politiki ya BUYOYA ishira mu ngiro ingingo z'ubwicanyi z'abamutanyuriye duherereye ku mwami gushika kuri BUYOYA ubwiye:

1° Kumwe umwami yarenga kw'ibwirizwashingiro ryo mu w'1962 yitwaza ngo "UWASINYE NIWE USINYU-

RA", niko na BUYOYA atubahiriza i wirizwashingiro yishiriyeho mu Ntwarante 1992.

2° Kumwe MICOMBERO yavuye na "USHAKA KUVUNA UMUGANDA W'INKWI, UVUNA RU MWE RUMWE UGATEBA UKA WUMARA" hanyuma BAGAZA no we ngo "NTAWUGARIRA ZITARAHERERA MU RUHONGORE". Ubu niko BUYOYA ariko arabigiramo kwica Abahutu hirya no hino, kubapfunga ata mpamvu, haba mu Burundi canke iyo bahungiyeye, tutibagiye no guhungura ku nguvu Abahutu bo muri Zayire na Tanzaniya cane cane.

Hamwe n'uko yisunga iyo migambi mibi, BUYOYA n'abahanuzi biwe bararaba neza umuzo wa demokarasi ugashyirwa kubasiga ku gatwe, kuko ibihe vyarashyirizwe, Abahutu n'Abatwa turamaze guca ubwenge. Vyongeye, n'abategetsi b'abanyarwanda na Zayire barakwiyeye kwibuka, aho kwihatira kunezereza Abatutsi mu gutoteza Abahutu bahungiyeye nyabuna nibihatire guteza imbere ibihugu be n'abanyagihugu bategeka.

BIZIMANA Germain

Umusomyi wa KANGURA i Kariya

NINDE AZOTSINDA AMATORA Y'UMUKURU W'IGIHUGU MU BURUNDI

Barundi, Barundikazi, namwe nshirwarimenetse z'umugambwe PALIPEHUTU iryavuzwe riratashe. Abarundi n'amakungu barorerereye n'igishika cinshi igenekerezo rya 1 Ruheshi 1993 umunsi w'itorary'umukuru w'igihugu.

Twibuke kandi ko Majoro Petero BUYOYA yemeye imigambwe myinshi agononwa kandi atinya gutsindwa. Amaze kugondozwa akemera ishyingwa ry'imigambwe myinshi, yaciye yihutira gushiraho amatora kuko yibazaga ko imigambwe irwanya UPRONA itazoba irashyamba imizi akaba yizera kwongera gutsinda bitamugoye. Umugambwe PALIPEHUTU umaze gutohozwa uko vyafashe mu ntara zose, wasanze Petero BUYOYA na UPRONA yiye adashobora gutsinda naho vyogenda gute keretse yivye. Mwirabire namwe ingene ibiharuro bivyerekana mu ntara zose z'u Burundi.

Abitoza INTARA	ND. Melchior FRÖDEBU	B. Petero UPRONA	S.P. Claver P.R.P.
1. BUJUMBURA VILLE	65,94	30,3	3,86
2. BUJUMBURA RURAL	81	18,4	0,6
3. CIBITOKÉ	90,9	8,2	0,9
4. BUBANZA	91	8,5	0,5
5. NGOZI	86,5	12	1,5
6. KAYANZA	89	10	1
7. KIRUNDO	84	15,2	0,8
8. MUYINGA	80	15	5
9. RUYIGI	88,2	10	1,8
10. KARUZI	81,5	18	0,5
11. BURURI	66	33,5	0,5
12. MAKAMBA	79	19	2
13. RUTANA	78,1	20,7	1,2
14. CANKUZO	80	19	1
15. GITEGA	85,5	10,5	4
16. MURAMVYA	78	15	7

NDADAYE MELCHIOR : 81,5%
BUYOYA PIERRE : 16,45%
SENDEGEYA P. CLAVER : 2,01%

Biribonekeza ko Abatutsi batiye amajwi, gutsinda kw'abanyagihugu bahurikiye mu migambwe ishaka ibintu bihambaye ari ntagisivye. Komeza kuri P.

IGIHE KIRAGEZE...

Iyo usubije amaso inyuma ukareba amateka y'isi, cyane cyane ay'ama-dini usanga kera hari abo bitaga abahanuzi. Babonekaga cyane cyane mu bwoko bw'abayahudi. Abo bahanuzi nibo babwiraga bene wabo ibibategereje, ibyago cyangwa amahirwe. Igihe cyagera ibyo abo bahanuzi bahanuye bikaba. Mu bahanuzi ba nyuma na nyuma twavugaga Yezu (ku bakristu) cyangwa Issa (ku bayisilamu). Niwe wakundaga kuvugaga ngo "igihe kirageze"...

Abahanuzi nk'abo, ubu ntibakibaho. Nabiyita bo, abenshi baba ari abo twakwita abatekamutwe. Gusa ntibyabuzaga umuntu gusesengura ibibahirya no hino ku isi, ibibera iwacu, mu baturanyi... uherye kubyo ubona, u-shobora kuvugaga utibeshye uko ejo bigenda.

Ijya kurisha ihera ku rugo. Mbere yo kureba ibibera mu mahanga tubanze turebe ibibera iwacu no mu baturanyi. U Rwanda ruracyivuruguta mu bibazo inyenzi zarushoyemo kuva tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Inyenzi ziracyaturindagiza mu "mishyikirano y'amahoro". Nyamara intego yazo iracyari ya yindi: gufata ubutegetsu ku ngufu. Kandi umunsi zabufashe, ntihazagire uwibeshya ko zizamuvunguriraho. Nyiri amaso yerekwa bike. Kubona

inyenzi zisa n'izahagaritse imirwano, zigasa nizerekana ko zitabiriye imishyikirano, si uko zishakira amahoro. Ni ibintu byateguwe kuva kera. Biri mu migambi y'intambara zirwana.

Mu migambi y'intambara z'inyenzi, igice zigazemo ni icyo kwimenyereza abaturage. Ari nabyo zatangiye gukora mu duce tumwe na tumwe tw'igihugu zafashe. Zatangiye kuremesha amanama, zishyiraho "abategetsi" ari nako zikomeje kwangisha abaturage ubutegetsu buriho. Nta gitangaza rero kirimo zikomeje kuturindagiza mu "mishyikirano". Zontacyo bizibwiye, zifite igihe gihagije. Hagati aho ariko abantu bagera hafi kuri miliyoni bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara bakomeje kwangara. Baranyagiriye ku gasozi, ntibafite icyo barya, abana babo ntibashoboye kwiga nk'abandi... Ngo bategereje ko "imishyikirano y'amahoro" igira icyo igeraho. Kandi birazwi ko ntacyo, Cyane cyane ko inyenzi zikomeje kwerekana ubushake buke. Kandi ni mu gihe. Hari amakuru akomeje kutugeraho yemeza ko impamvu inyenzi zikomeje kuruhanyira zidindiza imishyikirano, ari ibanga zifitanye n'ubutegetsu bw'abatutsi bw'i Bujumbura. Abatutsi b'i Burundi babwiye inyenzi gutinza imishyikirano uko bishoboka kose kugira ngo babanze bikize abahutu mu matora azaba

ejo bundi tariki ya 1-6-1993. Abatutsi b'i Burundi nibamara kurangiza umuhungu w'amatora bazabona noneho uburyo bwiza bwo gufasha ku mugaragaro inyenzi.

Ntimuzatangare rero ibitero by'inyenzi by'ubutaha biturutse i Burundi. U Rwanda rukarwana intambara ebyiri: iyo ku mupaka wa Uganda, n'iyi ku mupaka w'i Burundi. Abatutsi b'i Burundi barahiye kandi ko batazatsindwa amatora azaba vuba aha. Nta bantu bafite ariko bafite imbunda. Bivugira ku mugaragaro ko bazatsindwa amatora ari uko iminwa (canons) y'imbunda yazibye! Uwumva yakumva. Igihe rero kirageze ngo umuhutu wo mu Rwanda yumve ibimutegereje mu minsi iri imbere. Igihugu cye kirugarijwe ariko nta bibona. Igihe kandi kirageze ngo umuhutu w'i Burundi yumve ko akwiye kurwana intambara ya nyuma na nyuma. Uko umututsi arushaho kumupyinagaza, birushaho kumutera ingufu zo kwigobotora iyo ngoyi. Iterabwoba umututsi amushyiraho rimutere akanyabugabo aho kumuca intege. Mbese igihe kirageze ngo umuhutu wo mu Rwanda n'uwo mu Burundi bumve ko basangiye ibyago n'amahirwe.

NGEZE Hassan

NONE TWAGIRAMUNGU YABA ARI WE WIVUGANYE GAPIYISI? BIRASHOBOKA!

Hashize igihe gito umwe mu barwanashyaka b'imena ba MDR-PAR-MEHUTU Gapyisi Emmanuel yitabye imana. Nk'uko mwabyumvise, uwo murwanashyaka yaguye mu marembo y'awe azize amasasu abagizi ba nabi bamududujemo. Hari kuwakabirirariki ya 18 Gicurasi ariko kugeza na nubwo abo bishyamba ntibari batahuruwe.

Nyuma y'iyicwa ry'uwo murwanashyaka, buri wese avugaga iby'urupfu rwe uko abyumva. Abakemuka ni benshi ariko nta gihamba. Ari nacyo gituma Perezida wa Repubulika aherutse gusaba ko anketi zakwihutishwa, abanyarwanda bakamenyeshwa ibyo zagazeho. Ishyamba rya MDR ryo rigera kure, kugeza n'aho risabaga ko anketi zakorwa n'abanyamahanga kabuhariwe mu gutahura abicanyi. N'ubwo bwose anketi ntacyo zari zatanga gifatika, hari ibimenyetso bigaragara ko umurwa-

nashyaka Gapyisi Emmanuel yazize Twagiramungu afatanije n'inyenzi.

Twagiramungu, n'ubwo bwose yari musanzire (bose ni abakwe ba Nyakwigendera Gr. KAYIBANDA) wa Gapyisi Emmanuel, nta wamushira amakenga. N'ubwo bwose abo bagabo bombi bari abarwanashyaka b'ibanze ba MDR, ishyamba Twagiramungu yari afiteye «umuvandimwe» we ntiriyari gusiga ubusa. Ishyamba Twagiramungu yari afiteye Gapyisi Emmanuel n'iryo ryatumye asohotse umugambi we.

Ibyo Twagiramungu yakoreye Gapyisi ni nk'ibyo Gahini yakoreye Abeli. Icyo Twagiramungu yazizaga Gapyisi Emmanuel ni uko yamurushaga ubwenge n'ibitekerezo. Urebye neza Gapyisi yari umunyapolitiki wuzuye, abantu bose bemera. Ari muri MDR ubwayo ndetse

no mu yandi mashyamba.

Gapyisi Emmanuel ntabwo yacungiraga ku bigambo gusa nka «Rukokoma». Hari inkuru yigeze gukwirako Gapyisi Emmanuel ariwe uzabwa Minisitiri w'Intebe muri Guverinoma itaha yaguye. Cyangwa se ngo mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika dutegereje, umukandida wa MDR yagombaga kuba Gapyisi Emmanuel aho kuba Twagiramungu. Ibyo byose rero nibyo «Rukokoma» atihanganiye.

Abibuka «coup d'Etat» yo ku Rucunshu muribuka ukuntu Kabare na Kanjogera bagenje Rutarindwa kugirango bimike umuhungu wabo Musinga. Abibuka icyo gice cy'amateka y'u Rwanda nibwo bashobora kumva ibyabaye kuri Gapyisi Emmanuel. Ikindi kimenyetso gihamba Twagira-

mungu ni ibyamubayeho igihe yigiraga nyoni nyinshi ngo agiye kwifatanya n'abandi gushyingura Gapyisi. Abari bahari bemeza neza ko Twagiramungu yakirijwe induru. Nawe yarabiyemereye kuri Radiyo Rwanda. Bavuga ahubwo ko na mushiki wa Nyakwigendera yari amereye nabi Twagiramungu kubera akababaro, amushinja kuba ariwe wivuganye musaza we. Uwo mubyeyi ntiyari yasaze yavugaga ibyo azi.

Banavuga ko Twagiramungu yagombye gutira imodoka ya Minisitiri w'intebe Dismas Nsengiyaremye ku girango atabazwa iby'ubugambanyi bwe. Ureke ibyo Twagiramungu yabeshye kuri Radiyo Rwanda ngo induru yahawe agiye gushinyagurira Gapyisi ngo ni abantu banga demokarasi bari babiri inyuma. Ba nde?

INYENZI ZATANGIYE GAHUNDA YAZO YO KWIVUGANA ABANYAPOLITIKI BATAVUGA RU-MWE NAZO.

Gapyisi Emmanuel yaraye yitabye Imana, mugenzi we Mbonampeka Stanislas bari bahuriye muri rya huriro ry'amahoro na demokarasi (Forum de

Paix et Démocratie), yaduhishuriye byinshi kuri urwo rupfu.

Mbonampeka Stanislas yemeje kuri Radiyo-Rwanda ko inyenzi ari zo zivuganye Emmanuel Gapyisi. Dore ko hari n'amabaruwa uwo murwanashyaka yari yoherejwe amutera ubwoba. Iryo terabwoba ryabaye no kuri Mbonampeka Stanislas igihe bashakaga gutera grenade ku idirishya ry'uwe. Inyenzi zivuganye Gapyisi Emmanuel ntibitangaje. Intambara y'inyeshyamba igira ibice byinshi. Hari iy'amasasu. Iyo yo inyenzi zisa nizayinaniwe kuko zitashoboye gufata Kigali mu minsi itatu nk'uko zabiteganyaga. Indi ntambara ni iy'iterabwoba. Iyo yo yaratangiye. Aba nya Ruhengeri n'abanyabyumba bishwe nibo babizi. Iryo terabwoba noneho risatiriyemo abanyapolitiki. Nk'uko Perezida wa Repubulika aherutse kubivuga, niba abanyapolitiki batangiye kwikanga, inzira ya demokarasi ishingiyeye ku bitekerezo binuranye twari twiyemeje igiye gusubira inyuma. Kandi niyo ntego y'inyenzi. Zabanje kwivugana Gapyisi, ejo hatahiwe abandi...

Ikindi kimenyetso cyerekana ko inyenzi ari zo zivuganye Gapyisi zifashishijwe icyitso cyazo Twagiramungu,

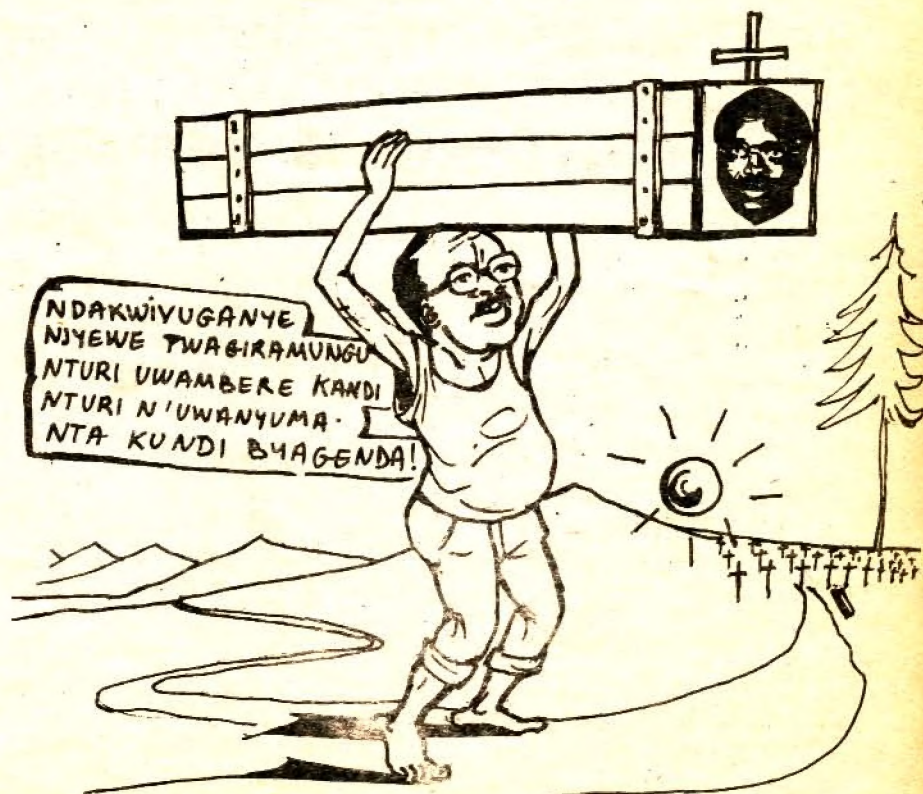
ni uko inyenzi zitihanganiye ukuntu Gapyisi yajya muri ririya huriro n'amahoro na demokarasi. Iryo huriro, ibyitso by'inyenzi byari byarakwije ibihuha ngo ni iryo mu «kazu». Kuvuga gutyo ahari ni ukubera ko harimo abanyaruhengeri nka Mbonampeka Stanislas. Urebye neza usanga Mbonampeka wahoze ari Minisitiri w'Ubutabera (umukandida wa PL) akaza kwegura, niwe baba barahereyeho. Gapyisi rero yamubereye igitambo. Dore ko Mbonampeka abatutsi bo muri PL (ishami rya politiki rya FPR) bamwitaga umusederi ngo ni uko gusa ari umuhutu. Uko anketi zagenda kose, urupfu rwuriya murwanashyaka rurahama Twagiramungu n'inyenzi. Inyenzi zikijije uwo zitavugaga rumwe. Twagiramungu azibera icyitso nk'uko asanzwe abigenza. N'abo banyamahanga kabuhariwe mu gutahura abicanyi MDR ishaka ko ari bo bakora anketi, bazahere kuri Twagiramungu. Dore ko nta mwicanyi umurenze. Twagiramungu ntazayobye rero uburari, nk'uko yatangiyeye kubikora aherereza urupfu rwa Gapyisi ku mashyamba adafite aho ahuriye narwo nka MRND na CDR.

La Rédaction.

TWAGIRAMUNGU arajijisha nyamara urupfu rwa GAPIYISI rura-muhama.

Kuwa gatandatu tariki ya 22/05/1993 ni bwo Perezida wa MDR mu gihugu Bwana TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin yagize icyo atangaza kuri Radiyo Rwanda ndetse no kuri Tereviziyo y'u Rwanda ku birebana n'urupfu rwa GAPIYISI Emmanuel wari Perezida wa rya Huriro Riharanira Amahoro na Demokarasi FPD.

TWAGIRAMUNGU ati "Ibyo umuryango wa GAPIYISI wankoreye ku Gikongoro byari byateguwe". Tubamenyeshe ko mu ishyingurwa rya Nyakwigendera GAPIYISI, TWAGIRAMUNGU yaramaganywe, yarutatswe ndetse banamubujije kugera aho umurambo washyirwemo. Mushiki wa Gapyisi yararangururaga mu kiriziya ati "azize TWAGIRAMUNGU, MUSA-NGAMFURA, RUHAMANYA n'agatsiko kabo". Ibyo byavuzwe inshuro zirenze eshatu. None se MRND yagira amayeri yagira n'ayo gutegura kwica GAPIYISI igategurira na mushiki we amagambo azavugaga? Uko ni ukuyobya amarari. Ahubwo ibyo bintu barabimereye iyo wibutse ukuntu bateguye AFURIKA Janvier ngo azavugaga ko yayoboye inama yo kwica abagogwe



Ikinani gihari. Ikinyamakuru ISIBO gikorera Inkotanyi na TWAGIRAMUNGU mu nimeru yacyo ya 98 cyamaganye GAPIYISI kimuhindura umusazi (MUSANGAMFURA yagerageje ariko kubisiba na wino y'umukaranga arangije ayobya amarari ashiramo indi nyandiko ivuga ko GAPIYISI yari umutabazi w'abanyarwanda). None TWAGIRAMUNGU ati barambeshyera si nyije wishe musanzire wanyije!! Ibyo ni ukuyobya amarari. Ikinyamakuru La Nation gikorera Inkotanyi yasohotse ku wa kabiri tariki ya 18/05/1993 cyashyize Gapiyisi amantse amaboko imbere ya Perezida w'inkotanyi nk'usaba imbabazi. None Twagiramungu ati "GAPIYISI ntiyishwe n'inkotanyi". Ibyo ni ikinyoma, abanyarwanda bagomba kumenya ukuri. Gapiyisi yishwe n'umutwe w'inkoramaraso (escadron de la mort) ukorera Twagiramungu n'inkotanyi.

Uwo mutwe w'inkoramaraso niwo ugiye kurimbura abarwanashyaka ba MRND. Niwo wishe umutegarugori MUKARURINDA Scholastique wishwe nawe ku mugoroba mu Kiyovu arashwe n'imbunda ya pistolet. Niwo wishe Paul Karasira wari Perezida w'Interahamwe i Shyorongi ku mugoroba ataha ajya iwabo. Uwo mutwe ni

wo wishe KALISA Callixte, Twagiramungu yavuze kuri Radiyo Rwanda no kuri Televiziyo abeshya. Ariko se azi ko yari umurwanashyaka wa MRND? N'abandi benshi tutarondora kandi b'abarwanashyaka ba MRND bamaze kwicwa n'uwo mutwe w'inkoramaraso.

Noneho ariko ubanza imizinga igiye kuvamo imyibano. Nyuma y'urupfu rwa Gapiyisi inkoramaraso za Twagiramungu zahise zoherezwa i Murambikwica Burugumesitiri GATE-TE. Mu ijoro ryo kuwa gatanu tariki ya 21/05/1993 Burugumesitiri Gatete yaguye mu gico cy'abantu bane baramurasa, baramuhusha. Ako kanya abatwaga barahurura batangatanga amayira yose buracya bafata abantu batatu bari muri uwo mugambi barimo USENGAMUNGU ukomoka i Cyangugu muri Komini Nyakabuye na NTILIVAMUNDA ukomoka muri Komini Kagano naho muri Cyangugu. Bariya bantu rero ni abo Twagiramungu yohereje kwa Gatete ngo bamwice imvururu zivuke inkotanyi zitere. Na n'ubu niyo migambi ya Twagiramungu yo guteza akaduruvayo ngo inkotanyi zitere twibagirwe urupfu rwa Gapiyisi. Amaraso arasama ariko ay'umuva ndimwe yo ntazayakira.

Ku byerekeye urupfu rwa GAPIYISI.

Ibyo twamenye kuri urwo rupfu, turacyabinononsora, dushobora kubibagezaho vuba aha. Mutwihanganire tuzatunge agatoki abivuganye iyo ntwari. Gusa icyo umuntu yakwibaza ni iki:

I: ni nde ufite inyungu ku rupfu rwa Gapiyisi, usibye abo yari abangamiye kubera ko yavugwaga cyane mubo MDR izatangaho umukandida mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika?

II: kuki Twagiramungu yihutiye gute-refona "la voix d'Amérique" igatanga za inkuru y'urwo rupfu muri iryo joro?

III: Kuki Twagiramungu yajyanye mu nama ya Biro Politiki ya MDR ikibazo cya Forum Paix et Démocratie, ngo bafatire iryo huriro ibyemezo?

IV: Musangamfura, muri "la Nation" n'Isibo, inyandiko zezagaragajeko yari azi neza urupfu rwa Gapiyisi. Ese hari utazi ko shebuja w'Isibo ari Twagiramungu? Izo nyandiko zirabahama, ubihakana azazisome.

V: abazadufasha gukora anketa bazahere ku byo umuryango wa Gapiyisi utekereza ku rupfu rwa Nyakwigendera, no ku nama Gasana Anastazi yari amaze iminsi akoresha muri Méridien, mu rwego rwo kwamagana Gapiyisi wari ubangamiye inkotanyi n'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu aho bwava hose.

NGEZE Hassan

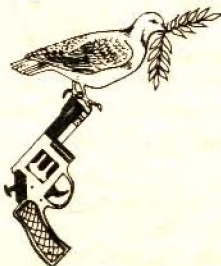
TURAMAMAZA

Ishyirahamwe ry'Abahutu bose bo mu turere twose, mu mashyaka yose, bo mu Rwanda, Burundi, Zaïre, riramenyesha abayoboke baryo ko amakarita yaryo agatangwa mu mpande zose ku buryo busanzwe.

Ku byerekeye abasirikare bazasezererwa n'imishyikirano y'Arusha, amakarita yabo aracyatangwa mu mpande zose ku bahagarariye "Turi hose". Ubwiyunge bwacu nibwo buzatuma tugera kucyo dushaka. Nimugane «Turi hose» kuko ariyo mizero y'Abahutu ya nyuma.

* Icyo "Forum Paix et Démocratie" ihuriyeho na "Turi hose" ni uko byose bihuriye ku ntego imwe. Usibye ko "Forum" itanga ibitekerezo igateganyira icyakorwa maze "Turi hose" igashyira mu bikorwa ibyananiranye. Ku byerekeye ibiranga ntego, ntibibate-re ibibazo.

PAIX & DEMOCRATIE



TURI HOSE

DUFATANYE

GUTORA BUYOYA NI UKWIGEREKAHO UMUSARABA

Kuri, Radiyo-Burundi hakunze guhita indirimbo idutekerereza iby'umugabo «Bararuhiga». Uwo mugabo ngo yamanutse i Bujumbura, bamubeshye ko azahagirira ubuzima bwiza, ageze aratangira. Kuri Radiyo-Burundi kandi bakunze guhitisha indi ndirimbo y'umugabo ngo wugururiye ingwe... Ibi tubabwiye, hari mu ababifataho urwenya. Nyamara icyo umuhanzi avuze aba yakirose. Abahanzi burya ni nk'abahanuzi. «Bararuhiga» cyangwa se uwo mugabo «wugururiye ingwe» ni umuhutu w'umurundi, ishyaka yaba arimo ryose, uzibeshya agatora umwicanyi Buyoya. Umuhutu w'i Burundi uzaha Buyoya ijwi tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993 azaba yiyemeje gukomeza kuba umugaragu, ingaruzwamuheto y'abatutsi. Bityo azaba agambaniye rubanda nyamwinshi izaba yahagurukiye uwo munsu kwipakurura ingoma ya gi-hake ntutsi.

Abahutu b'i Burundi bakwiye ku-ba maso bakima amatwi ibinyoma bya Buyoya. Uwo gashakabuhake akomeje kubeshyera amashyaka ya rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abarundi ngo ni amashyaka y'inkozi z'ibibi, amashyaka y'abicanyi... Ishyaka riharanira inyungu z'abahutu, PALIPEHUTU, ubutegetsu bw'igihugu bwa Buyoya bwarihayeho akato. None bukomereje no gutoteza FRODEBU.

Buyoya akomeje kubeshya ko UPRONA, ishyaka ry'abatutsi kuva kera, ngo ari ryo shyaka ry'ubumwe bw'Abarundi. Namenye rero ko icyo kinyoma gishaje. Dore ko guverinoma ntutsi uko zagiyemo zisimburana mu Burundi zose zagiyemo zibeshya ko ziharanira ubwiyunge bw'Abahutu n'abatutsi. Ubwo «bwiyunge» bwaranzwe buri gi-he n'iyicwa ry'abahutu. Umwicanyi ntangarugero yabaye Mikayire Micombero, wivuganye mu mwaka umwe gusa wa 1972 abahutu barenga ibihumbi magana atatu (300.000) atuma abandi bangana gutyo bahunga. Arangije ayo marorerwa asaba abacitse ku icumu «kwiungana» n'abatutsi. Byari gushoboka gute?

Buyoya nawe ntigira isoni. Amaze gutwika abahutu babona batagira ingano mu mvururu za Ntega na Marangara arasaba abahutu «kwiungana» n'abatutsi! Abahutu b'i Burundi nibamenye ko uko ingoma ntutsi zizajya zi-

simburana, nta mahwemo bashobora kuzagira.

Abahutu b'i Burundi ntibanze ubwiyunge n'ubumwe bw'abarundi bose. icyo basaba ni uko ubwoko nyakamwe bw'abatutsi butakomeza «kubarya bubicye ko». Abahutu b'i Burundi barambiwe kandi inkunga abatutsi b'i Burundi bakomeje gutera inyenzi kugirango zifate ubutegetsu ku ngufu mu Rwanda. Izo mpungenge kandi zifite ishingiro kuko inyenzi ziranutse zifashye ubutegetsu i Kigali, aka karere dutuyemo kaba gahindutse ubwami bw'abatutsi. Bityo abahutu bagapfira noneho gushira. Dore Uganda ifitwe n'umuhima Museveni, u Burundi nabwo buri mu maboko y'undi muhima, Buyoya. Mutekereze rero n'u Rwanda rufashwe mpiri n'abatutsi. Ak'abahutu ntikaba gashobotse?

Mu Burundi, kugira ngo abahutu n'abatutsi biyunge haracyari inzira ndende. Mu bibazo bizitira ubwo bwiyunge harimo ikibazo cy'ingabo, uburezi, impunzi, na demokarasi. Duherereye ku kibazo cy'uburezi, abahutu b'i Burundi baracyari inyuma cyane. Kandi ubutegetsu bw'i Bujumbura nta bushake na buke bufite bwo kubarenganura. Nko mu mashuri yisumbuye, abahutu bangana na 20 gusa ku ijana. Kandi ubwo bitwa ko aribo bagize hafi 90 ku ijana by'abarundi bose. Birumvikana ko no muri Kaminuza abatutsi aribo bazahora aribo benshi.

Turebye nk'abanyeshuri boherezwa mu mahanga, abahutu bajyaye boherejwe na Guverinoma y'i Burundi bari hasi ya o ku ijana. Abazi imibare bemeza ko bangana na - 15 ku ijana. Kandi nabwo bakamaraye igihe gito cyane nk'amezi atatu gusa, abakabije ntibanze imyaka ibiri. Mu gihe «bagenzi» babo b'abatutsi bamara yo imyaka myinshi, imike ari itanu. Muri abo abatutsi boherezwa mu mahanga ibenshi ni abasirikari n'abamaneko b'ubutegetsu.

Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abahutu nacyo kiri mu biteye inkeke. Kuva mu w'1965, abahutu bahunga buri gihe ubwicanyi bw'abatutsi. Ku buryo muri iki gihe abahutu b'i Burundi baba hanze batagira ingano. Naho izo mpunzi zibereye aho mu mahanga, ntizifite amahoro. Ubutegetsu bw'i Bujumbura bukomereje kuzidurumbanya ngo zita-

huke ku ngufu. Guverinoma y'u Burundi igeze naho itanga ruswa ngo ibihugu bicumbikiye izo mpunzi bizirukane. Kandi bizwi neza ko icyo hagize impunzi itahuka bayinyuza mu ryoya.

Ikindi kibazo kizitira ubwiyunge bw'abahutu n'abatutsi b'i Burundi ni ikibazo cy'ingabo. Ingabo z'u Burundi (niba ariko twazita) zigizwe n'abatutsi gusa gusa. Umubare w'abasirikari b'Abarundi muri iki gihe ugeze ku bihumbi makumyabiri (20.000), abatutsi bakaba ari 99 ku ijana. Urebye nta muhutu urimo, n'urimo ni kaporali cyangwa soruda. Izo ngabo nizo buri gihe zakoreshejwe mu kwica abahutu. Izo ngabo zidafite icyo zimariye rubanda nyamwinshi y'i Burundi, nizo zikeneshwa u Burundi bubarirwa mu bihugu bikennye cyane ku isi. Izo ngabo z'abatutsi zivutse u Burundi imbaraga z'abana barwo zibica, zibasahura, zibabuzaga gukorera igihugu cyababyaye. Izo ngabo z'abatutsi nizo kandi zihariye ingengo y'imari. Dore ko zihariye 30 ku ijana by'amafaranga Guverinoma ikoresheye. Izo ngabo z'abatutsi uwazigabanyaga agasiga nibura nk'ibihumbi nka bitanu, zigizwe n'abahutu benshi, abatutsi bake, n'abatwa. Mbese hakurikijwe ubwiganze bwa buri bwoko mu Burundi.

Demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyaka menshi ni kimwe mu byangombwa kugira ngo u Burundi buzagire amahoro. Uretse ibyo babeshye, u Burundi bwategetswe buri gihe n'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi rya Uprona. Iryo shyaka ryakomeje gucecekesha andi mashyaka kuva u Burundi bwabona ubwigenge. Ibyo kandi Uprona yabigezeho ikoresheje uburyo bwose bubaho kuko itatinye no kwirenga abataravugaga rumwe nayo. Naho poliliki y'amashyaka menshi igereye mu Burundi, UPRONA ikomeje kwitwara nk'ishyaka rimwe rukumbi. Iryo shyaka ry'abatutsi ryishingikirije ubutegetsu rifite, ryifashishije ingabo z'abatutsi, rikomeje gutera ubwoba n'umutekano muke mu baturage. Uprona ikomeje kandi kuvoma mu mutungo w'igihugu no mu mfashanyo amahanga aha u Burundi kugira ngo abashe gusohozwa imigambi yayo mibi. Mu gihe andi mashyaka acungira ku misanzu y'abarwanashyaka bayo gusa kugira ngo abashe gukorera.

(Komeza ku rup18)

BURUNDI: BUYOYA aritegura gushoza imvururu aramutse atsinzwe.

Hari impuguke muri politiki iherutse kugereranya Major Petero Buyoya n'umugabo w'ikigomeke wo muri Angola, Jonas Savimbi, umukuru w'ishyamba UNITA. Abazi ibyabaye muri Angola, muribuka ukuntu uwo mugabo Jonas Savimbi yanze kwemera ko yatsinzwe mu matora. Kandi yari yiyemereye ku mugaragaro ko ayo matora aba. Emwe ni nawe wari wasabye kurusha abandi ko ayo matora yategurwa. Savimbi yapfuye gusa kumenya ko yatsinzwe ahita afata iy'ishyamba. Mbese nka bya bindi Major Kagame wo mu nyenzi aherutse gutangaza. Yivugiye ko umutwe wa FPR nuramuka utsinzwe, we na bagenzi be bazisubirira mu ishyamba.

Savimbi na Kagame bo ahari umuntu yabumva kuko ari inyeshyamba. Nta mategeko azigenga. icyo zivuze si ngombwa ko zigikurikiza. Gusa ikibabaje kandi kinataye impungenge ni ukubona umukuru w'igihugu nka Major Petero Buyoya ariwe ufata iya mbere mu kuburizamo amatora yihamagariye. Impamvu ariko irumvikana. Nubwo Buyoya yashatse amatora ya hutihuti, azi neza ko atazayatsinda. Ikindi kibazo afite ni uko no kuyanga burundu ndetse no kuyafifika bisa nibitagitshobotse. Amahanga aharari aramureba. Cyokora Buyoya ntitumufate nk'umwana nubwo bwose izina rye risobanura Buhinja. Azi neza ikimutegereje. Ari nayo mpamvu namara kumva ko yatsinzwe, azahita ashya mu bikorwa umugambi we wo kuburi-

(Ibikurikira p. 4)

BUYOYA atsinze, Abatutsi bazoba bivyeye amajwi. Abanyagihugu rero basabwe kuba maso bakararira amasandugu kugira ngo Abatutsi ntibibye amajwi.

Barundi, Barundikazi, Rwaruka, ninde muri twebe atazi amabi UPRONA wadukoreye kuva wabaho gushika ubu kandi ari twebe twatumye utsinda? Ninde yokwiyibagiza inkumbi Petero BUYOYA amaze kwi- renza imyaka itarenze itanu afashe ubutegetsi ku nguvu. Icibagiwe coco ni bene wacu, abavyeyi n'abana bacu yamariye mu mabohero abandi abaganzu, hanyuma akaza kudukora mu gisebe, yiyerurutsa ngo ni Sebarundi, ngo ashikiye ubumwe n'amahoro (Sebumwe).

"Igiti ntikigukora mu jisho kabiri". Petero BUYOYA amaze guhinyuka. Mu minsi mikeya abanyagihugu bazo-

zamo ariya matora ateganiye tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993.

Nk'uko abadutariye amakuru i Burundi babitumenyesha, uwo mugambi uteye utya:

- Buyoya yateguye ikinamico y'ibitero bizaturuka mu ntara zimwe na zimwe z'u Burundi. Izo ngirwa bitero zikaba zigomba kuba mbere y'uko amatora aba tariki ya 1/6/1993. Ibyo bitero (nibakoko ariko twabyita) bikagerekwa ku mashyamba atavuye rumwe na Uprona ariko cyane cyane PALIPEHUTU. Iyo kinamico y'ibyo bitero igamije kubuza ayo matora kuba ku itariki yateguweho. Bityo akabona uko yahuka mu bakuru b'amashyamba y'abahutu bakicwa, abacitse ku icumu bagashya ubwoba bakaruka bakarumira.

- Nyuma y'iyicwa ry'abakuru b'amashyamba y'abahutu, Buyoya nibwo ateganya gukoresha ayo matora, noneho yizeye neza kuzatsinda ntawe umubangamiye. Uwo mutwe uramutse upfubye, Buyoya afite andi mayeri ashobora gutuma "atsinda" ariya matora. Buyoya ateganya gutoresha abantu batagira indangamuntu. Ngo bakerekana gusa passeports, amakarita y'akazi cyangwa se aya gisirikari. Aha umuntu akaba yakwibaza ukuntu umuntu yabona passeports, cyangwa se ikarita y'akazi, atagira irangamuntu. Ibyo bishoboka i Burundi gusa! Indangamuntu ngo zigenewe abatutsi gusa. Impamvu ngo ni uko aribo bakenera bonyine gutembera bajya mu mahanga cyangwa se i Bujumbura kuryoha.

muha ibihembo akwiriye mu kumusezerera ubudasubirwako.

Biribonekeza ko Abatutsi batiyeye amajwi, gutsinda kw'abanyagihugu bahurikiye mu migambwe ishaka ko ibintu bihinduka ari ntigisivya. BUYOYA atsinze, Abatutsi bazoba bivyeye amajwi. Abanyagihugu rero basabwe kuba maso bakararira amasandugu kugira ngo Abatutsi ntibibye amajwi.

Barundi, Barundikazi, Rwaruka, ninde muri twebe atazi amabi UPRONA wadukoreye kuva wabaho gushika ubu kandi ari twebe twatumye utsinda? Ninde yokwiyibagiza inkumbi Petero BUYOYA amaze kwi- renza imyaka itarenze itanu afashe ubutegetsi ku nguvu. Icibagiwe coco ni bene wacu, abavyeyi n'abana bacu yamariye mu mabohero abandi abangaza, hanyuma akaza kudukora mu gi-

Abahutu bo nta rangamuntu bagomba kuko bagomba kuguma iwabo mu giturage, badakenera na rimwe kuhava. Akumiro ni amavunja! Wasanga na ba bandi bafata buri muni bavugaga ngo ni abanyarwanda batagira ibya ngombwa ari abahutu b'abarundi.

- Andi mayeri Buyoya ateganya gukoresha kugira ngo arebe uko yakwiba amajwi muri ariya matora, ni ugutuma abasirikari be bagatera abahutu ubwoba. Ingendo Minisitiri w'ingabo aherutse mu bigo byinshi bya gisirikari rufitanye isano n'iryo terabwoba.

- Buyoya n'abantu be barateganya kandi gusimbura udusanduku tw'itora, bakadusimbura utundi dusanduku turimo impapuro z'impimbano zihabwaga amajwi adakwiye.

- Buyoya ateganya kandi guteza akaduruvayo mu biryo by'itora cyangwa se mu biro bazabaruriramo amajwi.

Kubera ayo mayeri yose Buyoya ateganya gukoresha kugira ngo aburizemo ariya matora cyangwa se yibe amajwi, abarundi b'umutima bari bakwiye kuba maso, bagatahura kare icyo migambi yose. Agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo. Amahanga nayo yari akwiye kohereza umubare uhagije w'abaganzu b'ayo matora, nibura 500 ku buryo buri Komini yaba ifite abaganzu bane. Amahanga yari akwiye kandi guhashya hakiri kare uwashaka wese kwiba amajwi kugira ngo hatavuka imvururu, amoko akongera agasubiranamo.

La Rédaction

sebe, yiyerurutsa ngo ni Sebarundi, ngo ashikiye ubumwe n'amahoro (Sebumwe).

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Barundi, Barundikazi, Rwaruka, intwari y'agahoto yaducuze bufuni na buhoro, yaduhekuye iratembagaye. None tuzakora iki?

Umugambwe PALIPEHUTU urasavye Abarundi bese gutsimbataza demokarasi turwanira ubutungane mu mahoro ahasigaye tugateza imbere igihugu cacu.

NGEZE Hassani

Biragoye kugirango umuntu abashe kwemeza umubare w'abatwikiwe mu mazu yabo kimwe no kumenya abajugunywe mu migezi nka Luindi. Imirambo yashoboye kuboneka aho i Katoyi igera kuri 35. Ipfundo ry'ubwicanyi ni uko abategetsi bakorera Mwami Kalinda Ndandu bakomeje gushyigikira ba Gakondo. Abahutu n'abatutsi b'i Walikale bo batwikiwe ari ku munsu w'isoko, tariki ya 21/3/1993 ku manywa y'ihangu. Bagakondo bari bayobowe na Shefu wa "groupement Waroba witwa Kiroba Musengezi. Bukeye bwaho hateye akandi gatsiko kitwaje imbunda, amacumu, n'imipanga maze ya moko abiri (abatutsi n'abatutsi) yerekwa uko intama zambarwa. Muri icyo gitero abo

twabashije kumenya ko bakiguyemo ni uwitwa Haguma n'abana be batanu, Nshimiyimana, Tuyisenge, Uwituze, agatsiko kari kayobowe n'uwitwa DE-LEO. Ahitwa Kasheshe haguye abavugajinyarwanda bagera kuri 50, naho i Nyamaboko ibararenga 200. Abatubwiraga iyo nkuru baragize bati: "muzabwire abanyarwanda bari i Rwanda bafite bene wabo i Nyamaboko, ngo abari bahari mu gihe cy'imvururu bose barashize. Nta muhutu nta mututsi ugihari".

Perezida HABYARIMANA nta ruhare abifitemo nk'uko abanyamakuru bamwe b'inshizi z'isoni bamuharabitse.

Amakimbirane ari hagati y'abaturage ba Bwito, Masisi na Walikale si aya none. Na mbere y'ubwigenge bwa Zaire ayo makimbirane yari ariho. Ke-

ra yari ashingiyeye cyane cyane ku butaka. Umuhutu yashakaga aho ahinga umututsi agashaka aho yorora, gakondo agashaka aho aroba n'aho akorera umuhigo, akagerekaho n'ubutegetsi. None ubu ariya moko yose arashakakwiganza muri byose kandi ntibishoboka. icy'ingenzi ayo moko apfa ni ubutegetsi. Ni impamvu iriho kandi imaze igihe kirekire. Mugushakagusanura impamvu abavuga ikinyarwanda badafite amahoro mu turere twavuzwe, Mwami Kalinda Ndandu avanga ibitavangika. Ngo mu bwatsi ayobora hari abantu bazamuye ibendera rya CDR, ishyaka rya politiki ryo mu Rwanda. Abayobokeye b'iryo shyaka aho ngaho bafatanyaga na Musemyeri Ngabu, Kasuku n'abandi bose muzi ko bakorera Inkotanyi baba kuri Goma, Uwo Mwami ubwiye

bw'Inkotanyi na CDR yabwumvise ryari? Ahubwo uko twe twabashije kubibona umuhutu n'umututsi bashatse ubutegetsi ariko buri wese abushakakugiti cye. Ba gakondo babibonye bishyira hamwe maze abavugakinyarwanda batikurwa batitaye ku moko yabo.

Biragaragara, Perezida Habyarimana siwe washoje imvururu muri Zaire nk'uko Isibo 96 yabyanditse. Abatutsi sibo bonyine baguye mu mvururu zabereye muri Kivu y'Amajyaruguru. Tujye dushyira mu gaciro tuvuye ibintu uko biri aho kubivugakubiteye, None se Habyarimana arihe mu icyiwa ry'abahutu n'abatutsi bo muri Zaire?

NYABYENDA Issa

UGANDA mu bukoloni bw'impunzi z'abatutsi.

Kuva Museveni yafata ubutegetsi ku ngufu i Kampala muri 1986, igihugu cya Uganda cyahise kiba ingwate y'inyeshyamba z'abatutsi. Abanya Uganda bamburwa ijamba, bahezwa mu nzego zose, zaba iz'ubutegetsi ariko cyane cyane iza gisirikari. Impamvu Museveni akomeje gutegekesha abanya Uganda ingufu z'imbunda, ni ukugira ngo badakopfwe. Dore ko uwo mugabo azi neza ko muri Uganda abamushyigikiye ari mbarwa. Ashyigikiye gusa n'agatsiko k'abatutsi b'abahima bahuje ubwoko batanagize na kimwe ku ijana (1%) cy'abatuye icyo gihugu. Museveni agashyigikiye kandi n'impunzi z'abatutsi b'abanyarwanda bamufashije kwiba igihugu. Iyo urebye neza usanga Uganda ari igihugu umuntu yabwirako mu bihugu bikiri mu bukoloni. Abongereza basimbuwe n'abacanshuro b'abatutsi.

Igihugu cya Uganda gitegekwe n'igitugu cya gisirikari, kandi Minisiteri ikomeye ariyo y'ingabo igenzurwa ijana ku ijana n'abatutsi. Muri abo abatutsi bica bagakiza twavugaga cyane cyane nka:

- Yoweri Museveni, umuhima, Perezida wa Repubulika akaba na Minisitiri w'ingabo.
- David Tinyefuza, umunyamabanga wa Leta muri icyo minisiteri.
- Mbonye, umunyamabanga mukuru.
- General Major Mugisha Muntu, umukuru wa Etat Major w'ingabo za Museveni (NRA)
- Lt Colonel John Mateka, ushinze ubutegetsi n'abakozi muri icyo Minisiteri.

- Jim Muhwezi, umukuru w'iperereza.
- Major Byemaro, ushinze iperereza rya gisirikari.
- Patrick Karejya nawe ukora muri icyo serivisi y'iperereza.
- General Major Elly Tumwine, ushinze ibibazo bya gisirikari.
- General de Brigade (Brigadier) Joram Mugame, ushinze iby'imirwano muri icyo Minisiteri.
- Brigadier Chef Ali, utegeka "division" ya 3.
- Lt Colonel John Baptist Mulindwa utegeka "brigade" ya 319.
- Lt Colonel Muhanguzi ushinze imirwano muri "division" ya mbere.
- Lt Colonel Jackson Bell, ushinze imirwano muri "division" ya kane.
- Lt Colonel John Nkanga ushinze umutwe urinda Museveni akaba na "garde du corps" we.
- Major Aloho, utegeka "bataillon" ya mbere.
- Major Dick Bugingo wungirije ushinze ibikoresho bya gisirikari muri NRA, ariwe Lt Colonel JET.
- Lt Colonel Kaazini, musaza w'umugore wa Museveni, ushinze icyicaro cy'abapolisi kiri ahitwa Makindye. Uwo niwe werekana abasirikari bahuje ibitekerezo na Museveni bagombyakunyonze. Mubonyamaze kwivugaga harimo Lt Colonel Odeyo yabashye icyaha cy'ubugambanyi akaba afungiyeye muri gereza y'i Luzira ategereje kumanikwa mu kagozi.
- Major Habyarimana ushinze abapolisi bo mu muhandu (sécurité routière).
- Katambuka, musaza w'umugore wa

Museveni ushinze gereza zose zo mu karere k'u Buganda, akaba yungirije ushinze iperereza. Uwo mugabo n'undi witwa Nsalasata barica bagakiza muri gereza y'ahitwa Luzira. Ikindi cyerekana ko abatutsi bifatiye neza igihugu cya Uganda ni uko ingabo za Museveni (NRA) zifite "brigades" zirindwi zose zitegekwe n'abatutsi. Abakuru ba za "bataillons" bose ni abatutsi n'izindi nzego zo hejuru zifitwe n'abatutsi. Muri Minisiteri zindi naho ni uko. Ku banyamabanga bakuru 39, 14 bose ni abatutsi kandi bashyizwe muri Minisiteri zikomeye. Ubundi bwoko buri muri Uganda kandi bugize hafi 95 ku ijana by'abaturage b'icyo gihugu cyane cyane abo mu bwoko bw'abaganda bafite imyanya itanu gusa, abo bita "acholi" bafite imyanya ine.

Abatutsi ba Museveni bagiye kumarira abanya Uganda ku icumu.

Impunzi z'abatutsi nizo zikwije imyanya muri serivisi zishinzwe iperereza ryaba irya gisiviri cyangwa se irya gisirikari. Abafite ubuhanga n'ubugome nibwo bazamurwa mu ntera. Uzwi cyane muri urwo rwego ni Major Kagame wategetse icyo serivisi imyaka ine. Yivuganye kandi agirira nabi abanya Uganda batagira ingano. Ni Kagame wahimbye uburyo bwose bubi bubaho bwo kwica. Twavugaga nko kuniga abantu, kwicisha amashanyarazi ariko cyane cyane ibyo bita «akandooya» bisasira no kwicisha ingoyi kwa kera. Cyangwa se kumena ku muntu plastic cyangwa caoutchouc bashongesheje, kuzirika intoshu iremereye cyane ku mabya...

(Komeza ku rup. 15)

TWIZERE IKI KU MATORA YIMIRIJE MU BURUNDI?

Kw'igenekerezo rya 1 Ruheshi 1993, mu Burundi hazoba amatora y'umukuru w'igihugu, amatora y'ihutihuti, amatora arimwo amananiza atagira uko angana, amatora azoba kubera igitsure ca UPRONA n'igisoda cayo ciziziwe n'abatutsi.

Hari bamwe bamwe bibaza ko ari intambwe muri demokarasi, ariko ibihe turimwo ntaho bitaniye n'ivyaranze Uburundi mu myaka ya 1960-1965.

Ntawuyobewe ko abatutsi bategeke-sheje Uburundi - n'ubu ariko bikimeze - ibinyoma, agahoto, umukazo, ubwicanyi... imyaka irenze amajana ane. Ku camu kimwe no kuri republika za gisoda, Abahutu n'Abatwa bagizwe inyamaswa zo kunigagurwa n'abategutsi uko bavyiyumvisemwo.

Umugambwe PALIPEHUTU uharanira gukura Abahutu n'Abatwa mu buja, no gushikana abarundi bose kuri demokarasi nyakuri yubahiriza agateka ka zina muntu ushimye gushikiriza abarundi bose n'amakungu icyo ubona kuri ayo matora yimirije. Tutiriwe turagaruka ku nganda z'Abahutu n'Abatwa Buyoya yayogejenye uko na bakuruwe bamutanguriye babigira, ikindi camuranze ni ukuzigiriza abanyagihugu gutora bemeza amasezerano y'ubumwe batagiriraniye. Murumuna rero ko n'ubwo yemejwe, ayo masezerano atagira ishimikiro ku-ko Buyoya we agomba ko ayo masezerano azimanganya akahise kandi nako ariko gategura akazoya. Ayo masezerano y'ubumwe rero ni ayo gusinziriza Abahutu n'Abatwa: ubumwe bugirwa n'abashaka kandi bafise umutima wo kubugendera. Ni kuki Abatutsi bazigiririza Abahutu n'Abatwa kwibagira ababo bapfuye bishwe n'abirigwa baricwa na UPRONA n'Abatutsi, ababo bangajwe n'abacangazwa, aho rero ntatuvuze abanyazwe n'abakinyagwa utwabo n'iyi ntwaro.

Ni kuki Abahutu n'Abatwa bazigiririzwa kwirengagiza akarenganyo n'agahoto bagirigwa na UPRONA n'Abatutsi bitwaje ubumwe?

Inyuma y'amasezerano y'ubumwe, meje muri Ntwarante 1992 ibwirizwa shingiro ryemera imigambwe myinshi ariko ritikwiye, kuko ryubakiye ku mananiza n'inyungu za UPRONA na Buyoya: ryategerezwa kwemera imigambwe yose iri mu Burundi, abanyagihugu bakaba aribo bigagurira uwo bumva ko ubashitse ku nyota biciye mu nzira y'amatora.

Igitangaje rero ni uko n'iryo bwirizwashingiro ritanzuye, abanyishiriyeho hamwe n'abanyemera bibananiye kuryubahiriza:

- uko iryo bwirizwashingiro ribivuga, abanyagihugu niba bitorera ababarongora bahereye kubitegetsu bwa Komine, hanyuma bagatora abashingamateka ari nabo baheza bagategura amatora y'umukuru w'igihugu.
- Rivuga kandi yuko mugambwe urekuriwe kugira imihari iwukomokako (milices).
- Ntiriyemera ko umusoda agira umugambwe yegamiye,...

Nk'uko twabivuze rero hejuru, amatora yimirije arimwo uburyarya n'imito myinshi ari naco gituma UPRONA na Buyoya bayihutisha.

- * Ni kuki UPRONA na Buyoya baranga kw'ikwirizwashingiro bishiriyeho, bagahatira abanyagihugu ku matora ya prezida kandi batatwara ababaserukira mu ma Komine no mu nama nshingamateka?

Aho umutege uri: mu 1965, abanyagihugu bitorera inama nshingamateka, Abahutu baratsinze; eka no mu nama nkenguzamateka (Sénat) yashizweho n'umwami ku gahato, Abahutu barongeye baratsinda, ariko murazi ko Umututsi atavuyihanganiye! Ubu hoho ntagomba ko vyobanza no kumera gurtu.

- * Ni kuki UPRONA na Buyoya banse kwemera imigambwe yose y'abarundi harimo na PALIPEHUTU uharanira abanyagihugu 86% ubu bakaba aribo bariko baritwaza mu gushaka kunigira mu menshi demokarasi?

- * Ni kuki UPRONA na Buyoya vyanse kwiyonkora igisirikare, J.R.R., U.F.B. na C.S.B. kandi ibwirizwashingiro bishiriyeho ritemera ko abasoda begamira umugambwe n'umwe canke ngo umugambwe ugire imihari iwukomokako?

- * Ni kuki Petero Buyoya ari umusoda (Major) azokwitoza mw'izina ry'umugambwe UPRONA usanzwe wifitiye abawurongora kandi ibwirizwashingiro ritamwemerera kuba mu mugambwe n'umwe?

- * Abarundi bariko bagana demokarasi nyabaki mu gihe Buyoya na

UPRONA bakora amarorerwa nk'ayo Pierre-Claver SENDEGEYA, Melchior NDADAYE, Shadrack NIYONKURU, Jean KABURA, Gaëtan NIKOBAMYE, KABUSHEMEYE n'abandi barongoye imigambwe y'abarundi babirababakirengerezako uruho rw'ama-zu?!

- * Kazoya k'iyi demokarasi ni akahe mu gihe uwo wese adapfukamiye UPRONA na Buyoya agihigwa buhongo n'abasoda ba UPRONA n'utundi dushami twayo hamwe n'abacangero?

- * Abo barongoye imigambwe «yemewe» bariko badutegurira demokarasi nyabaki mu gihe bemera ko haba amatora ata leta mfatambanza bahurikiyemwo iyateguye? Ariko ategurwa na ba nde? Hisunzwe ayahe mategeko?

- * Mbe ni kuki imigambwe «yemewe» yabeshe abantu ibizeza ivyo izobakorera ishitse ku butegutsi, umwe umwe wose ugatanga programme yawo, uno musu ikaba ariho ibonye ko yokwikoranya kugira ngo ishobore guhangana na UPRONA nka kumwe mu 1965 za P.P. na P.D.C. zabigira zigaca zikamanganira muri Front Commun? Abari babayobotse bazoca baba ba nde?

- * Demokarasi ivugwa aha mu Burundi ni iya ba nde ko amabohero arushirizaho kwuzura, abahungutse bagiturubikwa, bamwe bagasubira guhunga, abandi bagatabwa mu kangaratete aho kwakirwa nk'abavandimwe bisanze, ndetse bagasubizwa n'amatongo yabo? None ni ukuvuga ko Abahutu n'Abatwa tuzozaturatema amashamba, tugatunganya amatongo dutunganiriza Abatutsi?

- * Ko tuzi ko radiyo na télévisiyo ari ivy'abanyagihugu, ni kuki UPRONA na leta yayo bibandanya kuvyigungana?

- * Mbe ko Buyoya na UPRONA vyabanyamye kwubahiriza ibwirizwashingiro bishiriyeho, imigambwe bagize ngo baremeye nayo ikaba isa n'uko igendera mu kwaha kwa UPRONA, PALIPEHUTU yoyi na M.P.D. bayihoye iki muri iryo higanwa?

NINDE UZAHANGANA N'INYENZI NIZITAHUKA.

Ibibazo biba byinshi ariko ibizaba ubutaha bizashoborwa na bake. Mvuzze bake kubera ko intambara igitangira buri muhutu wasangaga mu bikorwa bye bya buri muni arangwa no kurwanya inyenzi. Uko iminsi yicumaga niko inyenzi zakoraga uko zishoboye zigakoresha amafaranga n'abakobwa bazo (ku babakunda) maze zigacamo ibice abahutu. Ubwo ingufu zo kurwanya inyenzi zikagenda zigabanyuka. Nyuma imirwano yaje guhindurira isura.

Inyenzi zibona ibyitso muri guverinoma. Ubwo imirwano iva ku mupaka ibera imbere mu gihugu kugeza ubwo komini Tare ya Kigali inyenzi zahageze bitaziruhije kubera ibyitso zari zimaze kugira mu gisirikare. Nta kindi ibyo byitso byakoze usibye gutera umutima mubi mu basirikare bato maze bitabira gusahura imigi ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Byumba. Maze inyenzi zikabaza mu nyuma zigafata aho bari bari zitarushye.

Namwe nimwibaze kubona abasirikare basahura abaturage bashinzwe

WARI UZI KO ?

KANGURA imaze gukora anketi ku mpamvu zatumye inyenzi zifata ahanu hani? Mu gihe twari tutatangaza abasirikari b'ibitso b'aba ofisiye bazifashije, sinzi uko umwe mu basirikare b'ibitso afatanije na Commandant BIZIMANA, umuhanga mu gusahura no kwica mu ibanga, yaje gusanga iyo anketi izatuma bashyikirizwa inkiko, maze nibwo bakwiye ibihuha ngo NGEZE Hassan akorana n'inkotanyi. Ngo kuko ibyo avugaga, nta kuntu yabimenyaga atabana nazo. Ubwo telegaramu zoherezwa mu nzego nkuru za gisirikare abaze nazo zihita zitanga itegeko ngo NGEZE Hassan ntacyo apfana n'inzego za gisirikare. Ngo ntazongere kwemererwa kwinjira mu biro bya gisirikare. Aha umuntu akaba yakwibaza niba ubusanze nari nemerewe kwinjira. Banakwiye ibyo bihuha no mu basirikare. Ese ni iki KANGURA yakorera inkotanyi?

Ngo impamvu ni uko dutinda gukora Kangura maze inyenzi zikagira agahenge. Aha turabibutsa ko ubwanditsi bwa Kangura aribwo buzi ibibazo buhura nabyo. Twiyambaza abahutu b'umutima ari nabo batuma Kangura ibaho. Usibye ko atari ngombwa kuvugaga ariko Kangura ibageraho ku ngufu zabo. Ese ni nde ufite icyo yashoye muri Kangura none akaba yarahombye? Basomyi bacu, nshuti muratumenyere ibiri inyuma y'abo bagome.

kurinda kandi batahwemye kubashyigikira. Byabaye igitego gikomeye ku ruhande rw'inkotanyi kandi tuzatinda kucyishyura. None se ba Commanndant BIZIMANA bayoboye abo basirikare ntibigaramye! Amafaranga yavuye mu byo basahuye se siyo yuzuyemo amagorofa! Ikindi ni uko ubu abantu bibaza ukuntu bazahangana n'inyenzi zibari iruhande kandi barazirwanije zikiri muri Uganda none zikaba zigeze hose mu gihugu! Ni ah'abagabo.

Ni nde uzahangana nazo ?

NGEZE Hassan biragaragara ko ari we uzakomeza guhangana n'inyenzi mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru. Ahangane nazo mu gusobanura demokarasi no kurengera inyungu z'abahutu cyane cyane yerekana aho ubugome bw'inyenzi bugeze. BARAYAGWIZA nawe ategereje kuzakoresha ubuhanga abahutu bamuziho maze ahangane n'inyenzi mu kuzisobanurira ko imigambi y'ubwicanyi nta mwanya

NGEZE Hassan, icyamamare muri Afurika yose, nk'uko bimaze gutangazwa mu gitabo cyitwa "Politique africaine" - Violence et Pouvoir n°42 ku rupapuro rwa 109 kugeza ku rupapuro rwa 120. Abo bazungu basanga NGEZE Hassan ariwe munyarwanda uzwi cyane mu Rwanda no mu mahanga. Basanze inzandiko za NGEZE zaramamaye ku buryo butangaje. Bemeza ko abana bazavuka bazashobora kwiga izo nyandiko mu mashuri. Baremeza kandi ko NGEZE yabaye umuhanuzi w'abahutu bo muri Afurika yo hagati.

izahabwa. Azisobanurire ko naho zakwicwa zitarangiza abahutu. BARAYAGWIZA azaba igihangange ku buryo bukenye urugero.

BUCYANA Martin, azaba ategerejwe kugaragaza ko disikuru ze yavuze azazikomeza. Yagira icyo ahindura akaba aratsinzwe kandi n'abamuri inyuma bakaba bacitse intege. Aha ngaha arasabwa kuzemera kwitanga ahangane nazo. Yerekane ko agasuzuguro k'izo nyenzi atazakemera na rimwe. Maze BUCYANA afatwe mu karere k'Afurika yo hagati nk'umwami Dawidi wo muri Bibiliya. Hashoboraga no kuboneka abandi bahutu ariko abo twari twizeye ko bazadufasha inyenzi zatangiye kubica. Dore GAPIYISI arahise. TWAGIRAMUNGU na MUSA-NGAMFURA baracyari aho kandi aribo bamuhitanye.

Ntawamenya niba inyuma ya GAPIYISI, ba MBONAMPEKA batazacika in-tege. Turategereje!

BARANYERETSE Mustapha.

Ntibanatinye no kuvuga ko NGEZE Hassan umwanya wose yakwiyamamaza mu Rwanda no mu Burundi ariwe waba uwa mbere kubera ko ubutwari bwe bwagaragaye kimwe n'ubwa MANDELA. Muri icyo gitabo habonekamo ya mategeko icumi y'abahutu na ya yandi cumi n'icyenda y'abatutsi.

Icyo gitabo kiragurishirizwa ku isi yose, ahagurirwa ibitabo. Mu Rwanda kirabarizwa muri Caritas-Kigali. Abashaka kumenya ubugome bw'abatutsi mugure icyo gitabo. Kangura.

Journal KANGURA Comité de Rédaction

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et Rédacteur en Chef
NYABYENDA Issa : Rédacteur en Chef
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Icapiro : Imprimerie Nationale du Rwanda.
Tirage : 30.000 exemplaires

KANGURA ibarizwa mu Burundi hose:

- Bujumbura (Mairie): ni kwa NTAKABANYURA Joseph ku Musaga
- BUJUMBURA (Rural): ni kwa NYANDWI Dieudonné mw'i Sale
- GITEGA: ni kwa NTAHIMPERA Grégoire i Nyamugari
- GIBITOKE: ni kwa NDAYISENGA Jules mu Rugombi
- KAYANZA: ni kwa NZOBONIMPA

André w'i Gatwara

- MURAMVYA ni kwa KARIBWAMI Benoît mu Biganda
- BURURI: ni kwa KABURA Marcelle i Kirembo
- BUBANZA ni kwa HARIMENSHI Jean Marie ku Mwokora
- KIRUNDO ni kwa MACUMI Jonas mu Rusarani
- MUYINGA ni kwa BASOMINGERA François Xavier kw'i Taba
- CANKUZO: ni kwa MANARIYO i Mushisha
- RUYIGI: ni kwa BURARAME Antoine i Muyaga
- RUTANA: ni kwa SAKUBU Léonce i Nkoma
- MAKAMBA: ni kwa NTAKABURIMVO Martin i Nyabigina
- KARUZA: ni kwa BARUTWANAYO Emmanuel i Buhiga.

KANGURA irabarizwa no muri za mitingi zose z'amashyamba aharanira guhirika ubutegetsi bwa Gitutsi.

Amatora y'ihutihuti azosokorora vyinshi kuko ntatomoye. Ikibabaje ni uko n'abahiganwa ubwabo umenga ntibabibona!

Mbe ko hasohotse itegeko ry'«Abarundi» bazotora bafise ibikararasi kubera badafise karangamuntu, abubobo baba hehe? batembera gute? Ni banyabwabo? Bakora iki? Nta nkeka ko abobantu ari abacangeroba UPRONA.

PALIPHEHUTU wo ubona ko hari ibintu bitaraboneka kandi arivyo ngenderwako kugira ngo demokarasi itsimbatare mu Burundi:

1. Igisirikare ca gitutsi ca UPRONA kikwirizwa gusenyerwa hagashingwa igisirikare kigizwe n'Abarundi bose.
2. Imigambwe yose harimwo na PALIPHEHUTU ibwirizwa guhiganywa, abanyagihugu bakihitiramwo uwubashitse ku nyota.
3. Abahungutse bategerezwe kwubabwaho nka ben'igihugu, bagasibizwa ivyabo n'amatongo yabo.
4. Leta ya UPRONA itegerezwa gupfungura abapfungirwe politike kandi ikabemerera kubandanya ivyabo nta nkurikizi.
5. UPRONA na Leta yawo bitegerezwa kwemera ko Abarundi bose bangana imbere y'amategeko, bafise uburenganzira bungana, ko aribo bitorera ababarongora, ko Umurundi wese akwiye gukora akazi karinganiye n'ubushobozi bwiwe kandi akoroherezwa uburyo bwo kukarangura.
Ubutegetsi, igisirikare, amashuri n'iyindi mirimo yose y'ubuzima bw'igihugu, biwirizwa gusabikanywa n'Abarundi bose ata wandya wanyura: Abahutu 85%, Abatutsi 14% n'Abatwa 1%.
6. Imihari ya UPRONA n'amategeko yawo bitegerezwa kuranduranwa n'imizi kuko vyaranzwe no guturubika, kunyaga no kwica Abahutu n'Abatwa.
7. Amategeko ngenderako y'igihugu ategerezwa gushingwa n'imigambwe yose y'Abarundi na PALIPHEHUTU urimwo, bigahagarariwe n'amakungu.
8. Abagaragayeho ubwicanyi no gushahura ubutunzi bw'igihugu bategerezwa gucigwa urubanza n'abanyabwabo.

gihugu ubwabo (Tribunal Populaire) aho gukingirwa ikibabaje n'ubutegetsi kuko nabwo ubwabwo butishimiye n'abanyagihugu. Abo nabo ni nka: André Muhirwa, Jean Ntiruhwama, Arthemon Simbananiye, Albin Nyamoya, Michel Micombero, Prime Niyongabo, Jean Baptiste Bagaza, Emile Mworoha, Pierre Buyoya, Musenyi Ntuyahaga Michel, Madame Samoya Collette, Jean Claude NDIYO, Aloys Kadoyi, Cyprien Mbonimpa, Paul Rusiga, Libère Bararunyeretse, Adrien Sibomana, Laurent Kagimbi n'abandi benshi cane.

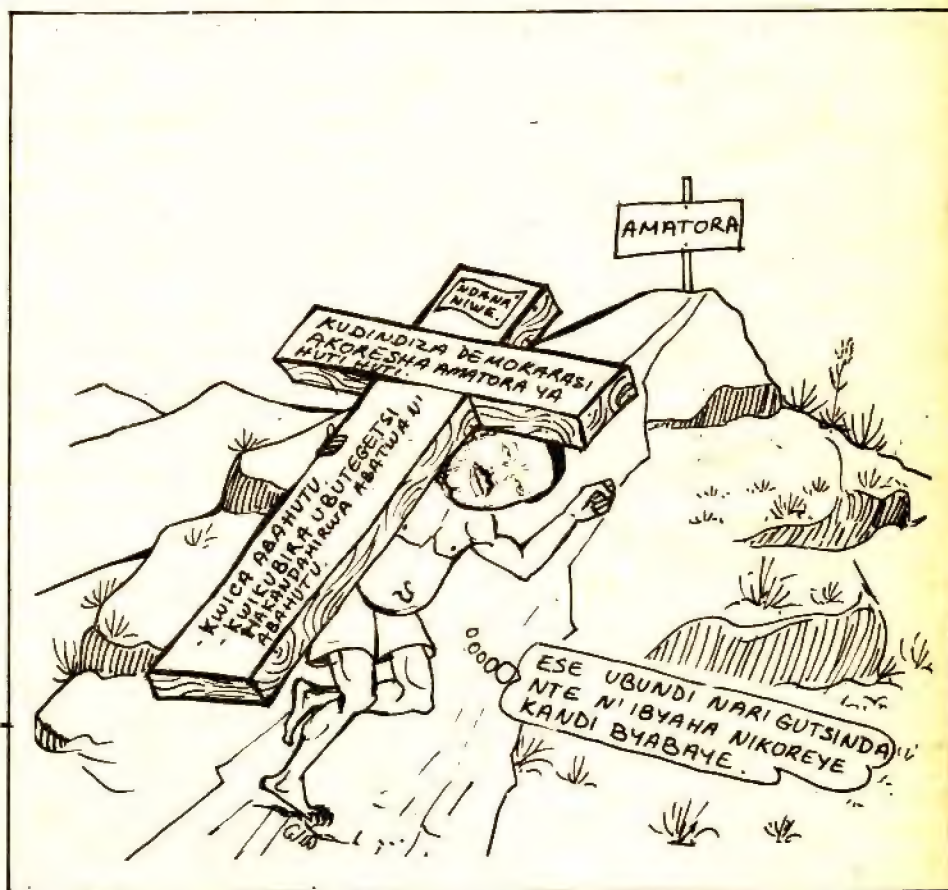
PALIPHEHUTU n'Abarundi bose banyotewe ubutungane, amahoro n'iterambere rya bose, turiyamirije ibinyoma vya UPRONA n'ivyitwazo iriko irementanya kugira ngo isese

kandi mwitondere ibivugwa na UPRONA na Leta yayo, hanyuma mukurikiranire hafi ivyo igisirikare ca Buyoya kiriko kirakora.

Mwame mwibuka ko igihe cose amarasoy'Abahutu n'Abatwa yasesetse, UPRONA na Leta zayo zavugaga ko zafashe integuro z'ibitero vy'Abahutu; ubu bakaba baharaye PALIPHEHUTU.

Ni mwibaze namwe ukuntu Abatutsi bavugaga ko bafashe ama grenade muri Komine Busoni amaze amaze abiri ahambwe mu mirima y'Abahutu! Ni kuki batayazuye akihambwa muri icyo mirima?

Iyo bavugaga naho ko akomoka mu Rwanda, ni kuki batavugaga ahari ibihungurira rikora ibirwanisho mu Rwanda canke isosiyete nyarwanda icuruzwa ivyo birwanisho? Ako ntumwumvako ari akigenzo!



amaraso y'Abahutu n'Abatwa kumwe yabigira mu 1965, 1969, 1972, 1979, 1988, na 1991.

Biragaragara ko Buyoya na UPRONA bariko barondera intanduruko yo gusubira kurigita inganda z'Abahutu n'Abatwa, no kurangura za ndoto z'Abatutsi zo kwigarurira ibihugu vyo muri Afrika yo hagati n'iy'ubuseruko.

Barundi, Barundikazi na mbewe mwese muhanira amahoro kw'isi, mube maso kubiriko biraba

Igihugu ntibubakwa n'igitsure, nyabuna cubakwa n'imitima ya bene-co. Ubumwe bugira abashaka kandi bafise umutima wo kubugendera. Mu gihe naho ivyo twavuze bitarubahirizwa, PALIPHEHUTU ibona ko demokarasi aha mu Burundi ikiri kure nk'ukwezi.

Nico gituma abaharanira demokarasi nyakuri tutoshira amaboko mu mpuzu.

BAZOMPORA Thaddée
ROHERO I, i Bujumbura.

GISENYI : MURI IKI GIHE, COMMANDANT BIZIMANA, WE N'INGURUBE BARAHIGA MU MAKOSA.

Hari ibintu tuba dukwiye kweme-
ra kubera ingufu zisobanura neza uko
ibyo bintu ubwabyo biba biteye. Aha
umuntu yatanga urugero rwa Com-
mandant Bizimana. Kuva intambara
yatangira yabashije guhangana n'i-
nkotanyizituriye umugi wa Goma uha-
na imbibi n'umugi wa Gisenyi wuba-
tsemo ikigo cya Jandarumori abereye
umuyobozi. Byabaye ngombwa ko i-
nkotanyi ziyobowe na Gahiga, Nou-
veau Riche Pascal zishaka kumwica,
ariko birananirana. Mu makuru twa-
bashije kumenya, Bizimana ari mu ba-
tante amakuru menshi yerekana uko
umwanzi (umuvandimwe) ahagaze.
Kubera ko raporo yagiye atanga ari
nyinshi kandi z'ingirakamaro bituma
abarirwa mu bakozi.

Twe tuzi ko abamutegeka bamu-
barira mu bahanga mu iperereza, tu-
kongera tukamenya ko ari byo yitwaza
kugirango akandamize abo ashinzwe
kubungira umutekano, twiye-
meje gutanga ifoto ye nyayo y'ikirumi-
rahambiri. Abamaze imyaka nk'itanu
mukora muri MININTER, mumugere-
ranye na ex-Préfet mwitaga intyoza
kubera raporo yoherezaga kandi aba-
tuturage yarabajambije. Bityo tuboneye-
ho kwiyama abategetsi baha umuntu
agaciro bahereye ku mpapuro gusa,
ntibahaguruke ngo bamusange aho
ari, barebe ibyo yica n'ibyo akiza.

Dore rero. Mu mpera za Nzeri,
Commandant Bizimana yagiye muri
konji iwabo i Byumba. Asanga atage-
ndeye muri Pajero atakwagirwa neza.
Agufatira imodoka y'umuzayirurwa ba-
fatanya mu kuvuyanga umugi wa Gi-
senyi, ayivanaho «plaques» zo muri
Zaire ashiraho izo mu Rwanda mu bu-
ryo butemewe n'amategeko. Muri bu-
vuge muti «officier» igihe cyose aba ari
ku kazi. Kandi kuba ari na maneko ni
uburyo bwe bwiza bwo
kwiyoberanya». Ibyo ntibibuzakongere-
raho ko na nyuma yaho yakomeje ku-
jya ajyana iyo modoka i Kigali. Niba ha-
ri abatari bazi aho yavuye bazabikuriki-
ranye.

Nibabikurikirana bazamenya ko
mbere yaho, kuri Goma habaye imyiga-
ragambyo yo kubuza ibishyimbo
kwambuka ku Gisenyi. Abayishoje ni
Commandant Bizimana n'uwo umuti-
za imodoka. Intandaro yabyo ni uko
Perefefu Habiyambere wa Gisenyi, yari
amaze kuvuga ko uwo ariwe wese u-
shaka kugura ibishyimbo kuri Goma

n'ubwo cyaba ikiri kimwe, nti hazagire
ubimwimira uruhusa. icyo kintu Perefefu
Kosima Bizimungu akiri ku Gisenyi
cyari cyaramunaniye kukivuga no-ne-
ho bituma Commandant Bizimana asa
n'uwikubira iryo soko. Kubayari amaze
kubona ko inyungu ze zugari-jwe rero,
yahisemo kugambanira igihugu cye
ashoza imyigaragambyo mu gihugu
cy'abandi. Muri icyo gihe cy'imyigara-
gambyo y'ibishyimbo, muzaperereze
murebe, muzasanga mu masaha
y'umukwabu, hari amato yagiye yam-
butsa ibishyimbo abivana ku Gisenyi
acye mu Kivu. Abantu ba Comman-
dant Bizimana bakayagaragira. Muri
icyo gihe, abanya Gisenyi basabye
kwigirizwayo amasaha y'umukwabu,
mu nama y'umutekano, Commandant
Bizimana yanga ko bayigizayo ngo ku
mpamvu z'uko hari inkotanyi ngo ihe-
rutse gusimbukira mu Kivu! Nta kundi
abantu bivamo. Ubwo ni nk'aho yari
kuvuga ngo ibi-shyimbo, byanjye
byambukira mu Kivu hakiri kare (saa
mbiri) turamutse twigijeyo umukwabu
byatinda kwambuka. Aribyo twakwita
«aetes manques».

Kubera ko umwanya utubanye mu-
to, ubutaha tuzabagezaho ukuntu Bi-
zimana André yishe abantu ntibime-
nyekane: Tunabagezeho lisiti twasa-
nze mu biro bya minisitiri w'intebe ire-
nga Bizimana ku bantu yagombaga
kwicisha icyo inkotanyi zitera ku Gi-
senyi. Uwo mugambi waburijwemo nu-
ko zitateye dore ko aho gutabara igihu-
gu we yari yiyemeje kujya kurasa abo
atavugaga rumwe nabo bose boku Gise-
nyi. Barimo

- Uzabumwana Augustin, umucuruzi
- Singaye André, umucuruzi
- Ndarugoragoye Jean Bosco, umucuruzi
- Mirasano Célestin, umunyabwenge
- Ngeze Hassan, umunyabwenge
- Samvura Barnabé, umunyabwenge
- Nizeyimana Jean Christophe, umunyabwenge
- Hadji Ramadhan N., umucuruzi
- Mbonyiki Benjamin, umucuruzi
- Halleluya Fanuel, Gérant wa BCR
- Dr Ahorukomeye, umuganga.

Abo bese Bizimana yari yabashyize
kuri lisiti yo kubarasa icyo inkotanyi zite-
ra. Iryo Perereza turacyarinononsora
tuzababwirira ukuri kuri ryo, ubutaha.
Gusa icyababaje abanyaguranyi bese
barimo na Perezida wa Repubulika, ni
uko nyuma y'uko Bizimana agatsiko
ke gasahuye kakanica ku Gisenyi, wa

muni w'aba «zoulou», hakoze impa-
puro zimwimurira ahandi ariko ntawe
umenya uzitangira. Kuba yarasahuye
abatuturage byonyine birahagije kugira
ngo abatuturage ba Gisenyi bazamwiha-
nirye. Ni ah'ubutaha, muri Kangura N°
43, muzabona ubwicanyi, ubusahuzi,
guhohotera abandi, ruswa, ubujiji,...
Ubwo Kangura isohotse noneho ntawe
ukira za telegramu z'ubutitsa zuzuye
ubutiriganya. Twe turabimenyereye
kandi twarwanye nyinshi.

NGEZE Hassan.

(Ibikurikira p. 11)

n'ibindi. General Salim Saleh muru-
muna wa Museveni niwe uyobora ako
gatsiko k'abicanyi "escadron de la
mort" gakorera mu kigo cy'abasirikari
barinda Museveni.

Si ubwicanyi gusa, abatutsi ba
Museveni basahuye Uganda na nubu
baracyayisahura. Banyanganya ama-
sambu y'abatuturage nti hazagire ubakura,
biba imodoka bakoresheje imbunda.
Uzwi cyane muri ubwo bujura ni Major
Drago Nyanzi ufite taxi nyinshi zirirwa
zitwara abagenzi aho i Kampala. N'u-
bwo bwose izo modoka zose ari inyi-
banö, ntawe utinyuka kuzitunga aga-
toki. Abatutsi baturutse muri za Eti-
opiya, Somaliya, Kenya n'ahandi bara-
tuzwa mu turere dukize kurusha utundi
nka Buganda, Ankole, Toro, Bunyoro,
ba kavukire bakirukanwa. Ubukene
Uganda irimo ibuterwa na politiki ya
Museveni yo gusahura ngo gushaka
kwigarurira ibihugu bituranye na
Uganda. Intambara Museveni yashoje
mu Rwanda itwara Uganda amafara-
nga menshi, kandi icyo gihugu ari cyo
nkingi ya FPR. Uganda itanga amafa-
ranga, intwaro, ibikoresheho, imodoka,
imiti, imyenda, ibiryo n'ibindi. Byose
babishyira ku ngengo y'imari ya NRA,
itwara hafi 70% bya biko yose y'igihu-
gu.

Muri make, Uganda ntishobora
kugira ubwigenge, amahoro, demo-
krasi isesuye, Museveni akiri ku bute-
getsi. Aka gace k'afurika dutuyemo
nako kazagira amahwemo ari uko icyo
nyeshyamba y'umuhima ivanywe ku
butegetsi. Banya Uganda nimwe mu-
bwirwa. Mwigobotore icyo ngoyi
y'abanyamahanga, amateka azabibab-
shimira. Ubonye ngo murutwe na wa
mugore Alice Lakwena? KANGURA

INZIRABWOBA ZIRASOBANURA IMPAMVU INYENZI ZIMAZE GUFATA AHANTU HANINI.

Intambara igitangira mu ngabo z'u Rwanda hari harimo ibintu bidasobanutse: ibyitso, umubare muke, ibikoresho biki, kutamenyera urugamba. Nyuma y'ukwezi bimwe muri ibyo byari bimaze kubonerwa umuti. Umubare, ibikoresho n'urugamba ruramenyerwa, ariko ibyitso bikomeza kuba urumamfu mu ngano. Umwaka n'igice washize ingabo z'u Rwanda ziri hejuru y'inyenzi none muri ibi bihe inyenzi nizozikataje mu gutondagira inzirabwoba. Byaba biterwa se n'uko nyine zitagira ubwoba?

Ingabo z'u Rwanda zemera rwose ko inyenzi zimaze gufata ahantu hani ariko ngo ntibiterwa n'uko ari ibigwari. Aho inyenzi zafashe hose zisa nk'aho zahabonye ubuntu kuko nta mirwano yababaye. Inzirabwoba ziratangira ingero: tariki ya 5 Kamena 1992 inyenzi zitwikiriye ijoro zitera umugi wa Byumba. Ingabo z'u Rwanda zari zasigaye ku mupaka ziza gutabara umugi. Ubwo inyenzi zasigaye inyuma zihita zifata aho zivuye. Umugi umaze kubohorwa, mu gihe cyo kujya kubohora aho inyenzi zafashe zitarwanye, abanyapolitiki bati "ingabo z'impande zombi zigomba kuguma mu byimbo zirimo". Ejo bundi tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 inyenzi zongeye kubura imirwano, zitera umugi wa Ruhengeri maze abasirikari bari mu birunga, Kidaho, Kagogo na Ntaruka bavayobaza mu mug. Aho hose inyenzi zihafata zitavunitse. Na none kandi, Ruhengeri imaze kubohozwa, abanyapolitiki bahagarika imirwano mu gihe mu rwego rwa gisirikari hategurwaga ingamba zo gusubiza umwanzi muri bya byimbo bya mbere yari yeguriwe ku maherere.

Icyo twabashije kubona mu bitero by'inyenzi ni uko ibitero bikaze byose bigabwa mu gihe imyaka yeze. Ibi bigasobanura ko inyenzi zidategereza kugemurirwa. Turakeka ko icyo myaka ibyeze ku mpande zombi. Abategetsi b'ingabo zacu rero bakaba bari bakwiye kwisuzuma, bagatoza inzirabwoba kumenya kwirwanaho igihe cyose nta muntu ushobora kuzigemurira. Ibi tubivugiye kubera ko hari ingabo zavuye mu birindiro byazo kubera ko inyenzi mu gitero cyo ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare zari zafunze imihanda icamo imodoka zigemuye. Ku geza ubu ingabo z'u Rwanda ntiziraci-

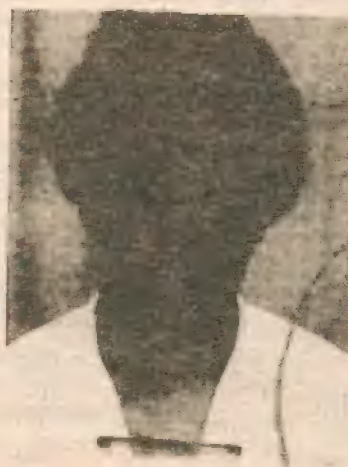
ka intege. Ziracyafite ubushake bwo kuyirwana. Ziracyifuza kurwana kugira ngo zereke inyenzi n'abaherutse kuzijyamo ko bibeshye. Aho zabonye ubusa imirwano nisubirantizizahaguma. Ubu inzirabwoba zararakaye kubera ko inyenzi zaziraseho ngo kuba mu gihugu hari impunzi ni uko zananiwe kubungabunga umutekano w'abanyarwanda. Ingeso y'inyenzi yo gushotora ntabwo iteye ubwoba abasirikari b'u Rwanda. Ahubwo barasaba abanyapolitiki kudahagarika imirwano igitaraganya mu gihe bashotowe. Byibura bajye babaha ukwezi kumwe kw'imirwano isesuye noneho bumvikane ko nyuma yaho izahagarara. None se ubona abanyapolitiki bataba batunguye ingabo z'u Rwanda iyo umwe muri bo afashe ijamba nko kuwa gatandatu saa tatu z'ijoro kugira ngo avuge ko imirwano izahagarara ku wambere saa sita z'ijoro? Kuri icyo kibazo cy'abanyapolitiki basobanyan'ingabo turibaza niba u Rwanda rufashwe mpiri byabazwa Habyarimana, Nsengiyaremye, cyangwa inzirabwoba. Hari n'abibaza niba inzirabwoba zitabanza kwikiza inzitizi zose zituma zidakora umurimo wazo neza.

Abanyapolitiki niba bagenda batesha ingabo z'u Rwanda agaciro. Kubababashyirika muri iki gihugu biragenda biba igisebo. Abatarabibona nibategereze bazabibona mu cyirore kizava Arusha kikorewe na Ngurinzira. Hari abasirikari bakubwira bati "tu-

vuye mu ngabo twese tugashiramo niho byaba byiza. Intambara twarwana yo guhashya inyenzi yaba iryoshye cyane kuko hakorwa politiki ya gisirikari gusa".

Amarorerwa y'inyenzi abanyapolitiki b'u Rwanda basa nk'aho batayabona. Baramutse bayabonye, nk'uko inyenzi zisaba ko umusirikari uyu n'uyu cyangwa umutegetsi uyu n'uyu ahagarikwa kubera amakosa aya n'aya, abanyapolitiki b'u Rwanda nababasaba ko inyenzi iyi n'iyi iba muri FPR kubera amakosa aya n'aya. Biteye isoni kubona FPR ari yo isigaye yirukana abakozi mu Rwanda! Biteye isoni kurushaho kubona inzego za gisirikari z'u Rwanda nazo zisongamurira abarimu bagera kuri 80 bo muri CEEDO Bigogwen'ibitangaza bakoze mu Mutara? Ya "bataillon" ya 64 bitanga iy'aba "zoulou" isigaye iba he? Ku ki abaliyetona n'abasoda aribo boherezwa muri gereza kandi ubutwari bwabo bwarigaragaye muri iyi ntambara? Major Uwimana ari hehe? Slt Ntaganda n'Uwiragiye twumva abasirikari babirahira ariko ntitubabone! Iki kinyabupfura, iyi discipline irenze iy'abihaye Imana nayo iri mu bitugambanira. Ku isi yose, muri rusange, umusirikari w'umurwanyirwari aba afite "discipline" igereranije. icyo numva umusoda yazira ubu, ni ukwanga kurwana.

N.I.



MUTOMBO Joseph na GAPIYISI Emmanuel bishwe bazira ibitekerezo by'abahutu. Ababashyirika bazi ko tuzabahorera

GAPYISI na MBONAMPEKA bandikiye KANGURA. Baremeza ko u Rwanda ruri mu byago. Buri wese nashyireho ake !

Nyakwigendera Emmanuel GAPIYISI atari yitaba Imana na mugenzi we MBONAMPEKA Stanislas bahu-riye muri rya huriro ry'amahoro na de-mokarasi (Forum Paix et Démocratie), bandikiye Kangura, batanga ibitekerezo byabo ku bibazo byugariye u Rwanda. Muri rusange, barahamya (kandi nibyo) ko igihugu cyacu cyugarijwe n'ibibazo kidashobora kwivanamo niba buri munyarwanda wese ukunda urwamubaye adatanze inkunga ye. Abo bagabo bafashe iya mbere, babimbura abandi. Mwisomere namwe! Duhere ku nyandiko ya Gapyisi.

KANGURA

GAPYISI Emmanuel ati: "Hapfa uwavutse".

Nta kintu kitagira itangiriro n'iherezo. N'ubutegetsi ubwo ari bwo bwose, ni uko kandi ni ku isi yose. Amateka y'abatuye iyi si yagiye arangwa buri gihe n'ubutegetsi bwagiye busimbura bukaza kumanwaho na za revolisiyo, intambara cyangwa se imvururu zishyigiyeye ku moko. No mu Rwanda rero ni uko. Ikibazo si ukumenya niba ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana buzavaho cyangwa buzagumaho, ikibazo ni ukumenya ukuntu buzavaho. Buzavaho rero gute?

Imyaka 20 y'ubutegetsi bw'umuntu umwe.

Ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwari bumaze imyaka 20, manda yabwo iri hafi kurangira. Ubwo butegetsi bwashyizweho na coup d'Etat yo mu w'1973 buvuyeho butageze ku ntango bwari bwiyeje. Bwashyize imbere amahoro, none igihugu kiri muri imwe mu ntambara zikaze muzigeze kuba mu Rwanda. Ubwo butegetsi kandi bwaririmbaye ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda, none intambara y'amoko iraca ibintu.

Ibyo byose biragwa ku butegetsi buriho ariko kandi no kuri nyirabwo, Yuvenali Habyarimana yihaye ikuzo abaturage baramuririmbira muri animasiyo. Indirimbo yari yacengeje mu baturage zimushimagiza, ubu nizo bamuririmbira ariko bamuhema, aho bamuhaga ikuzo ejo, ubu baramuha induru. Inyikirizo ejo yari: "Jenerali-Major, turagushyigikiye, tuzagutwara ijana ku ijana", yahindutse "umunsi Habyarimana yavuye ku butegetsi, abantu bazi-

shima" Indirimbo zimwe, ijwi rimwe, ariko amagambo yarahindutse. Ni nde wabitekerezaga mu myaka itatu ishize? Na Perezida ubwe yarumiwe!

Habyarimana amaze kumanwaho ku ngufu, uwamubanjirije, Gerigori Kayibanda, wari waranamwizeye cyane, yaje kwigizayo adakina abakoranye coup d'Etat yo ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1973. Bamwe bita "les camarades du 5 juillet". Iyi myaka 20 ishize yabaye iyishyaka rimwe rukumbi, MRND. N'ubwo gutari ryo shyaka rimwe rukumbi ryabaye ku isi, ryo ryari ritangaje. Aho MRND yatangarizaga amahanga ni uko yahatiraga abanyarwanda bose kuba: "abarwanashyaka" bayo. Kuba uri umunyarwanda byonyine wabaga uri muri "Muvoma." Habyarimana yakomeje gucyurira uwamubanjirije ko yari "ananiwe" nyuma y'imyaka 11 gusa ateguka. Habyarimana we akomeje kwiyumvamo ingufu nyuma y'imyaka 30, harimo 20 ari Perezida wa Repubulika Na bagenzi be bafatanije guhirika Kayibanda yabigijeyo bose ngo "barananiwe". Si bose ariko, hari umwe wamunaniye... nako wamutorotse. Ni Koloneli Alexis Kanyarengwe, kimwe na Habyarimana ukomeje kwiyumvamo ingufu akaba yariyemeje kumanwaho ubutegetsi bwa "mugenzi we", akoresheje intwari.

Imyaka itatu y'intambara.

Iyi ntambara tuyimazemo imyaka itatu. "abahungu" ba Museveni niba bamushyize ku butegetsi muri Uganda. Batsinze ingabo zikomeye za Idi Amin wemeze ko abasirikari be aribo bakomeye muri Afurika y'abirabura inyuma ya Nijeriya. Inyeshyamba za Museveni zari zizeye rero ko ubwo zafashe Uganda, u Rwanda rutari kurushya. Intambara igitangira, abenshi barabwemeze, sakindi yaje kubyara ikindi, inkotanyi ziratsindwa. Abari bazishyigikiye barumirwa, nazo ubwazo ntizasobanukirwa. Habyarimana, icyo gihe wari Chef wa Etat Major w'ingabo, arashyuhaguzi yiyitirira ugutsinda kw'ingabo z'u Rwanda kugira ngo arebe uko isura ye yaba nziza. Atangaza ko inkotanyi zitsinzwe burundu, yigira igihangange. Amahirwe yamubanye make kuko intambara yakomeje na nubu.

FPR itanga impamvu ebyiri zituma ikomeza intambara:

- gukemura ikibazo cy'impunzi.
- guhirika ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwa Habyarimana.
- icyo umuntu yakwicuza ni uko ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwadepekeye ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda kugeza aho FPR ikigira impamvu (yumvikana) yo gushoza intambara. Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda cyahenze mu biro no mu tubati tw'abakozi ba Leta n'abanyapolitiki. Abakiri bato benshi ntabwo bakizi. Kandi iyo bitaba uburangare, icyo kibazo kiba cyarabonewe umuti, hatagombye intambara. Ibyo ari byo byose, ugutahuka kw'impunzi ntawukibihakana, ni uburenganzira bwazo bwemewe n'amahanga ndetse n'abanyarwanda ubwabo. Nta bwo rero icyo kibazo cyagombye kuba urwitwazo rwo gukomeza intambara.

Icyo FPR isigaye icungiraho, ari nacyo gituma ikomeje intambara, ni uguhirika ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwa Habyarimana. Abaturage rumwe n'ubwo butegetsi baba imbere mu gihe, nabo basangiye icyo ntango na FPR. Ariko ntibumvikana ku buryo byagezwaho. Ntibemera inzira FPR yahisemo yo gufata intwari. Bemeza ko ibyo ari byose, intambwe u Rwanda rumaze gutera muri demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi ari ndende. Kubera ibyo rero, intambara n'ibyo yangiza nta kamari, FPR ikomeje kwibeshya ko intambara ariyo yazanye demokarasi mu Rwanda. Oya! Ariko yagize icyo ihindura ku migendekere y'icyo demokarasi. Iyo icyo ntambara itaba, demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi yari kuba ariko mu buryo butari ubu turimo. Igihe inkubi y'umuyaga wa demokarasi yasakaraga muri Afurika, demokarasi ntiyari ikeneye intambara ngo igere mu Rwanda. Abanyarwanda ntibari bakeneye abasirikari baturutse mu ngabo z'amahanga (NRA) kugira ngo babone demokarasi baharaniye. Abaturage ubwabo bari kuyigereraho n'ubwo bwose bari kubabara ndetse bagatanga ibitambo.

Habyarimana yari akwiye kwigendera atanduranije.

Habyarimana amaze kwegura ku buyobozi bwa MRND. Ni igikorwa yari akwiye gushimirwa uretse ko yabikoze atinze. Ubonye nibura icyo abikora mu myaka itatu yashize! Igihe abanyabwenge 33 (hari muri Nyakanga Komeza kuri page 18)

Abasirikari b'Abafaransa batwaye iki ?

Mu minsi ishize, ikibazo cy'abasirikari b'Abafaransa bari mu Rwanda cyakunze kuvugwa cyane. Abo basirikari bageze mu Rwanda hashize iminsi mike inyenzi-nkotanyi ziteye u Rwanda tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Baje bafite ubutumwa buzwi: kurengera abafaransa bari ino n'abandi banyamahanga cyane cyane abanyaburayi. Habanje kuza abagera kuri 300, hiyongeraho abandi baje cyane cyane igihe inyenzi zarotaga gufata Kigali muri bya bitero zihurutse kugaba muri Gashyamba uretse uyu mwaka, ku buryo hari igihe bigeze kugera kuri 700. Hamaze gutaha abagera kuri 150 mu rwego rwa ya masezerano y'i Dar-Es-Salaam. Ikibazo si uko abo basirikari bakiri ino, ikibazo ni ukumenya impamvu hari abantu bakomeje gutera hajuru ngo nibatahe, nibatahe. Inkotanyi zo zibisabye bifite ishingiro ariko se abandi bo bababara he? Abo bafaransa babatwaye iki?

N'ubwo u Rwanda n'u Bufaransa nta masezerano (yanditse) yo gutabarana, ibyo bihugu byombi byashyize umukono ku masezerano y'ubutwererane. Ni muri urwo rwego rero mu Rwanda hari abafaransa bakora hirya no hino mu mishinga y'amajyambere, hakaba n'abasirikari bari mu rwego rw'ubutwererane mu bya gisirikari, ibyo ntaho bitaba. Umunyarwanda niwe wavuze ati "inshuti uyibona mu byago" Kuba abafaransa baratabaye u Rwanda, nta nyungu bafitemo nkuko bamwe babikeka. Abafaransa sibo bakolonije u Rwanda. Amateka atubwira ko u Rwanda rwabanje gukolonizwa n'Abadage, basimburwa n'Ababiligi. Muri abo bese nta numwe wadutabaye inkotanyi zateye. Ibiramambu ababiligi batuvuyemo rugikubita bashyigikira inkotanyi. Ubufaransa kuba bwahohereje ingabo zabwo mu Rwanda rugikubita ni uko abafaransa bakunda ubutabera. Amateka y'abanyarwanda n'abafaransa aya gusa, nabo bakoze revolisiyo ya rubanda bipakurura ingoyi ya cyami ahagana mu w'1789 nk'uko no mu Rwanda byagenze mu mwaka w'1959. Abafaransa basanze abanyarwanda barengana biyemeza kubatabara. Ubufaransa ni kimwe mu bihugu byagiye bigaragaza ko bidashyigikiye ubutegetsi bw'igitugu cyane cyane ubw'imbunda z'inkotanyi. Inkotanyi zifashe ubutegetsi, abanyarwanda baba bavuye naho bari bari kuko ntawakongera gukopfora.

Hari abavugaga ngo kuba ubufaransa budutabara buri gihe, ngo nta rundi rukundo bafitiye abanyarwanda.

Ngo baba baje gushimangira igitugu cya Habyarimana kuko ari inshuti ya Perezida Mitterand. Kuba Mitterand aziranye na Habyarimana mbona nta gitangaza kirimo kuko ubufaransa ari inshuti y'u Rwanda kuva kera. Uretse na Mitterand w'ejo bundi, Habyarimana yari inshuti ya Valery Giscard d'Estaing, akaba n'inshuti ya Georges Pompidou. Inkotanyi zisabye ko abasirikari b'abafaransa bataha bifite ishingiro kuko bazibangamiye cyane. Babangamiye intego zayo zo gufata igihugu ku ngufu nk'uko zafashe Uganda. Na Museveni kandi abirimo cyane kuko afite gahunda yo gushyira abatutsi ku butegetsi mu ibhugu bituriye aka karere. Ntibyamugwa nabi kandi yungutse miliyoni zirenga zirindwi z'abanyarwanda baba bagoomba kumenya icyongereza inkotanyi zibufashe mu Rwanda.

"Politiki y'u Bufaransa ku Rwanda ntizahinduka."

Abishimye bumvise ko ishyamba ryari Mitterand (Parti Socialiste) ryatsinzwe mu matora y'abadepite aherutse kuba muri icyo gihugu. nibasubize amurwe mu isaho. Uwahoze ari Ambasaderi w'Ubufaransa mu Rwanda Georges Martres niwe uherutse kubakurira inzira ku murima. Yavuze ko politiki y'u Bufaransa mu Rwanda idateze guhindurika.

IBIKURIKIRA P.17

1990) bamusabaga kurekura ubuyobozi nibura bwa MRND. Hari hakirika, ariko Habyarimana arangwa buri igihe ngo gukora ibintu ku munota wa nyuma. Bityo bikerekana ko atazi gushyiraho ngo abone aho ibintu bigana. Aho kugira asehere ku buyobozi bwa MRND, byari kuba byiza Habyarimana yigomwe kwiyamamamaza umwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. Abasesengura ibya politiki bemeza ko Habyarimana azasezera nyuma y'iyi manda, izarangira mu Kuboza 1993. Cyangwa se nyuma y'inzibacyuho. Aramutse agiye byatuma amahoro agaruka mu Rwanda, hakanajyaho ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri demokrasi. Dore ko FPR ihakomeje kuvugaga ko izakomeza intambara niba Habyarimana atavuyeho. Kandi n'abatavugaga rumwe nawe bari imbere mu gihugu bakomeje kurega Habyarimana ko agundira ubutegetsi. Habyarimana rero yagombye gufata imigambi ya kigabo, akarahira imbere y'abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga ko atagifite umugambi wo kugundira ubutegetsi. Ibyo byatuma FPR ireka intambara, n'abatavugaga rumwe

duka ngo ni uko ari Minisitiri w'Intebe w'u Bufaransa uhindutse. Ahubwo iyo usesenguye neza ibyo ishyamba UDF-RPR ryatsinzwe mu Bufaransa mu matora y'abadepite rivugaga, usanga rizarushaho gushyigikira u Rwanda mu ntambara turwana. Kandi na Mitterand aracyafite indi myaka ibiri yo kudutera ingabo mu bitugu. Abanyarwanda rero nibahumire. KANGURA.

IBIKURIKIRA P.8

Ubutegetsi bwa Buyoya bukomeje kandi gushyiraho abaturage ngo amashyamba menshi niyo atuma batumvikana. Ari nacyo gituma avugaga ko ngo andi mashyamba ni udutsiko tw'abagizi ba nabi. Nyamara abo yita abagizi ba nabi nibo bagiye kubohozza abarundi! No mu mahanga Uprona ikomeje kubeshya ko ngo abarundi batajijutse bihagije ku buryo bakwitabira politiki ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi. Uretse ko ari n'ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa, biramutse ari nabyo ni nde wadindije abarundi akabaheza mu bujiji? Si Uprona?

Buyoya afite amayeri menshi, mbese ni nk'ay'inyenzi dore ko ari zene wabo ari nacyo gituma anazishyigikira. Yateguye amatora ya huti huti ahari yizera ko azafatirana abarundi. Ari-beshya kuko iminsi y'igisambo ari mirongo ine itarenga. La Rédaction.

nawe b'imbere mu gihugu bahangana n'ibindi bibazo igihugu gihura nabyo nko kuzana amahoro, ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda, kuzahura ubukungu... aho kurwanira gusa guhirika Habyarimana.

Mu magambo make, nyuma y'imyaka 20 y'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu, u Rwanda ruri mu bihe bikomeye rutigeze rugira. Intambara ntacyo yigeze ikemura ahubwo ikomeje kuzambya ibintu. Muri iki gihe hari imishyikirano y'amahoro ibera Arusha, ni ngombwa ko buri ruhande rwakwiyumvisha ko iyi ntambara y'abavandimwe igomba kurangira. Byadufasha kandi, Habyarimana aramutse yiyemeje kwigendera nyuma y'iyi manda ye izarangirana n'uyu mwaka. Atinze se akazabikora nyuma ya guverinoma y'inzibacyuho itaha. Bizamusaba akanyabugabo no gushyira mu gaciro. Aho guhera mu magambo no mu bitekerezo byiza gusa, igihe kirageze ngo ibyo bitekerezo bishyirwemo bikorwa. Abanyarwanda mwese nimwe mubwirwa.

GAPYISI Emmanuel.



*Urupfu rw'Umuhutu GAPIYISI Emmanuel rwatumye twiyemeza kuzamuhorera.
Inyenzi ziyobowe na Twagiramungu wihishe inyuma ya Musangamfura nizo zamuhitanye.*